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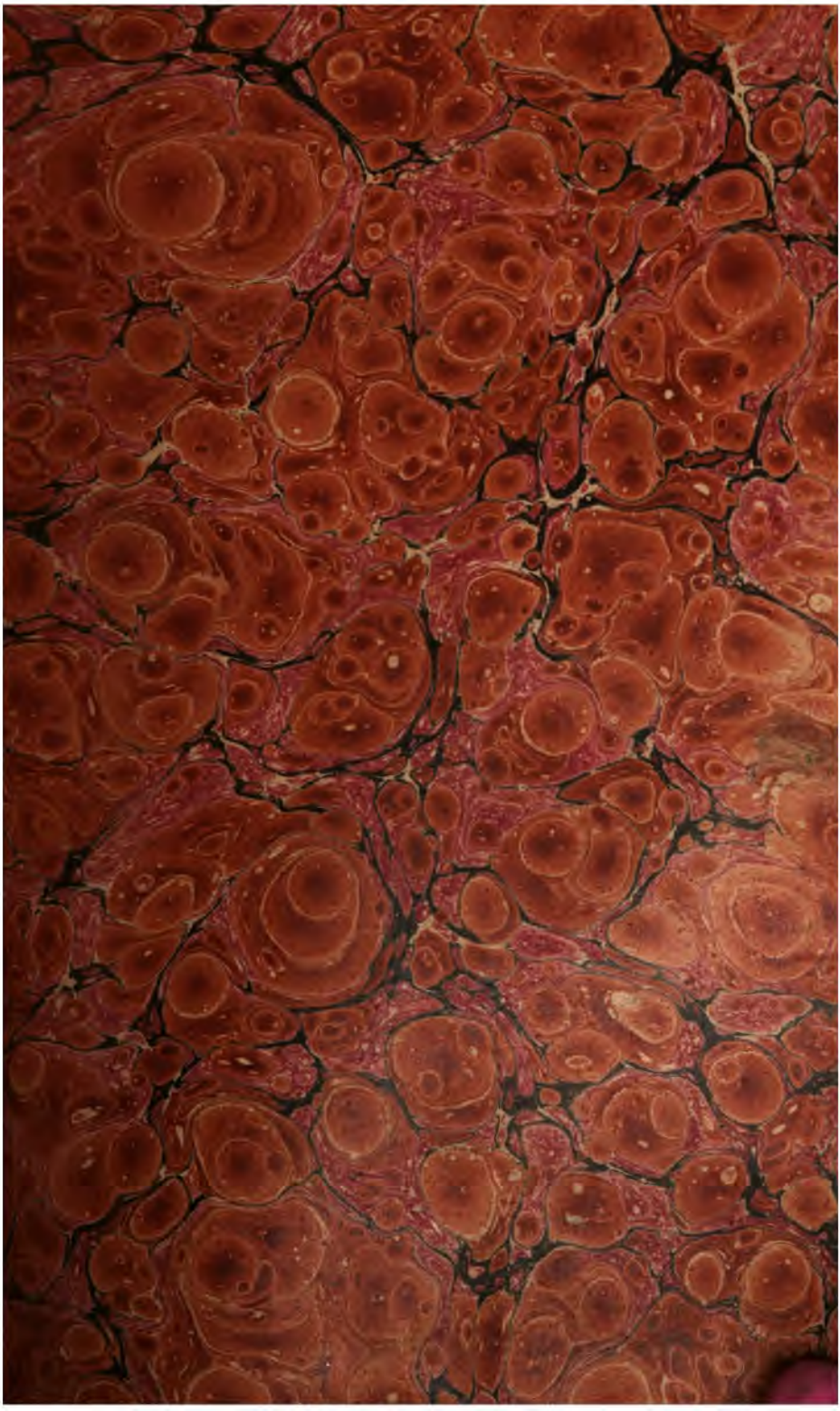
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John Waldie

Topography, Travels, &c. } No. 1487



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PALACES of PASHKOV, MENZIKOV, APRAXIN &c. BELGOROD, MOSCOW.

JOURNAL OF A

TOUR IN GERMANY

SWEDEN RUSSIA POLAND

IN 1813-14

BY J. T. JAMES A. M.

TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

THIRD EDITION

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY ALBEMARLE ST.
1819.



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PREFACE.

THERE is so much of resemblance between the several nations of the more civilised world at the present day, so much of uniformity in a journey through the countries which they inhabit, that the modern traveller in Europe relinquishes all thought of exciting public attention by the detail of personal adventure. Hence the examples furnished by the simple and interesting stories of our ancient tourists are neglected, and in their stead we are presented with political theories, surveys military, statistical or scientific, collections of historical anecdotes, or, perhaps, a lively essay on the genius and character of a people.

In the present work it is not meant either to launch into subjects which do not fall within the province of a common observer, or to publish unauthenticated and doubtful gleanings of private scandal; or yet to undertake disquisitions that require more time than could have been here allotted to the task. But such topics cannot altogether be passed over, and they will be touched upon, though merely *en voyageur;* that is, as far as is requisite to a faithful description of the various matters that came under observation in the course of the tour. Of these, the changes and revolutions arising out of late events, if a traveller may judge from his own feelings, will not prove the least acceptable.

The form of a journal has been pre-

ferred, as giving an opportunity of stating facts as well as opinions, in the order in which they really occurred; whereby the reader will be enabled with less prejudice to draw his own inferences. If, in any part, a more unconnected style should in consequence have been introduced, it is presumed the defect will be amply compensated by this advantage.

The first section is, perhaps, somewhat bare of information; but this must be referred to a circumstance which, since travelling is so much in vogue, will be duly appretiated by most people; namely, the timidity, not to say incompetence of observation, which attends the first steps upon a foreign shore. It is long before a stranger trusts to what he sees and hears, or rather knows to what he should trust, and still

longer before he attains the just habit of conducting inquiry.

On the subject of proper names, perhaps some apology may be due to the fashion of the age, for not having introduced (as far as I am aware) any novelties in spelling or pronunciation. The old and received methods have been constantly adopted, though not without due consideration. It may fairly be asked, indeed, what reason exists to make innovation necessary? Every other nation in Europe is indulged in its own idiomatic pronunciation of these words, and why should we refuse ourselves a similar licence? While Vienna is known as *Wien*, or *Vienne*; Austria as *Österreich*, or *Autriche*; while *das Preussen* and *das Russland* in one language are the substitutes for *le Prusse* and *la*

Russie in another, there can be no reason why an Englishman should not talk of Prussia and Russia, or even *Prussha* and *Russha* if he please.

The confusion that has been introduced into ancient geography, as well as history, from the accommodation afforded to the delicate ear of Greece, may be urged in favour of reform in our days; but, on the other hand, this fact, as far as it tends to prove the antiquity, as well as the general prevalence of the custom, may be said to shew the natural impracticability of any proposed scheme of alteration. As to its success, indeed, in any way, we may safely assert, that whatever variation is made in the spelling or pronunciation of a foreign proper name, be the means what they may, syllabic abbreviation, elongation, or

elision, we shall find, upon comparison being made, that we do not advance one single step nearer to the native pronunciation than before.

During my residence in several towns, I have received many civilities and attentions from individuals, which merit every expression of gratitude; but I should think their kindness ill requited if I took this opportunity of dragging their names before the public: by my silence it is conceived their private feelings will be best consulted, while they will still know, as I feel, that it is not because they are forgotten.

My companion, during the former part of my journey, was Sir James Milles Riddell, Bart. whom I am happy to reckon

amongst those whose intimacy I acquired early in college life; and during the latter, W. Macmichael, M. D. Radcliffe travelling fellow of the University of Oxford, from the turn of whose pursuits I gathered much additional information.

I am in duty bound to make every acknowledgment in my power to the Honourable Heneage Legge, to whose friendship I stand indebted for the masterly and spirited etchings with which I was allowed to embellish the quarto edition.

To Robert William Hay, Esq. of the Admiralty, I am under the greatest obligations, not only for his kind and friendly assistance in many other respects, but in particular for the narrative of his visit to Tulchyzn, with which he has enriched my

last section, and which will be found to contain a very able and interesting account of the modern state of Polish seignoralty.

There are many other persons whom I should wish to mention here, and publicly to profess my gratitude, did I not fear that in so doing my motive would appear open to another charge, and that I should subject myself to that of indulging an ostentatious self gratification, by associating their names with my own.

London, May, 1816.

THIRD EDITION.

In preparing this Edition for the press, some few trifling additions have been made, and care has been taken that any changes which may have occurred in the countries visited since the date of the Tour, should be brought forward in the notes.

Flitton, Bedfordshire, April, 1819.

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

P. 33, lines 14, 15, *for* 1500 dollars banco, *read* 15,000 dollars ringeld, or 1500*l.*

P. 37, l. 17, *for* Güstrow, *read* Rostock.

P. 66, l. 5, *for* Axtel, Amdt, Bernstein, Schleiermacher, *read* Eichhorn, Turte, and Bernstein.

P. 141, l. 11, *for* never, *read* seldom.

P. 141, l. 3 of note, *for* Reitzende, *read* Reitsendung.

P. 332, l. 10, *for* Halle, *read* Fichte.

VOL. II.

P. 21. in the note, *for* 4,000,000 r. *read* 26,000,000.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

Directions to the Binder.

FRONTISPIECE.

Palaces in ruin at Moscow—To the right hand appears the Palace of M. Pashkov, to the left that of Pr. Menzikov, and in the distance that of Count Apraxin.

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Brandenburg Gate—From the *unter den linden*, or walk under the lime trees; the road to Charlottenburg, passing through the centre of the park, is seen in the distance.

To face p. 194.

Stockholm—The Island of the city, including the Palace, Riddarholmen Church, and other public buildings, occupies the centre of the picture: to the right appears the southern quarter, and to the left the northern.

To face p. 402.

Statue of Peter the First—The Isaac church appears in the distance; on the fore-ground to the right is a sledge and *furieux*, &c.

VOL. II.

To face the title page.

Casan Church—from the quay of the Catherine canal. On the fore-ground is a travelling sledge with four horses: on the side of the canal are two prisoners carrying water, under guard of two soldiers of the police.

To face p. 172.

Imperial Palace of Petrovski, burnt by the Cossacks during the occupation of Moscow by the French: in the distance appears the city. A small caravan is on the road, the last cart bearing a wooden cross, to which, in case any accident happens, the prayers of the drivers are constantly addressed.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

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Palace of Bessborodko—This edifice was reduced to its present condition by the conflagration in 1812. It was formerly the residence of the Emperor Paul, who purchased it from Count Bessborodko.

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Smolensko from the Dnieper—The cathedral appears on the top of the hill: to the right is one of the breaches made by the French cannon during the battle of Smolensko; below are the suburbs, which were burnt towards the close of the same.

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Russian burying ground—In the front are two peasants paying their devotions: a votive offering is attached to the cross.

To face p. 366.

Column of Vladomir—In the distance is the Dnieper: below is the Podolski quarter of the town.

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Palace of Lubomirski—This view is taken from the moat: on the foreground are examples of the costume of the Polish seigneur and the peasant.

To face p. 428.

University of Cracow—Founded by Casimir the Great. The walls of the court are decorated with paintings.

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ii The Kitaigorod.
iii The Belgorod.
iv The Semlianigorod.
v The Slabode.
vi The quarter beyond the Mosqwa.
vii The quarter beyond the Taoutsa.
1 The Maiden's field.
2 The Nunnery.
3 The outer wall.
4 The inner wall.
5 The Dagmilov slabode.
6 The Prison.
7 The Twerskaia Junskaia.
8 Sachtochowa.
9 The Meschantschkaia.
10 The Kalantscha.
11 The herb field.
12 The German slabode.
13 Thrasnoi sola.
14 Pokrvowskoe selo.
15 Laferte.
16 Woronzovo pole.
17 The Imperial school.
18 The Twerskaia Sostawa.

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JOURNAL.

SECTION I.

PART OF SWEDEN AND THE NORTH OF GERMANY.

Gottenburg—Trolhättan—Wennersburg—Heat of the Climate — Commerce, &c. — Helsinburg — Lund — Ystadt—Rostock—Mecklenburg Schwerin—Government—State of Peasantry—Mecklenburg Strelitz—Berlin—Arts and Manufactures—Prospect of Hostilities—Distress of Prussia—Opening of the Campaign —Affair of Gros-beeren—Alarm at Berlin—Conduct of the Inhabitants—Moreau—King of Prussia—Victory of Juterbock—Politics, &c.—Journey to Stralsund—English Troops—Trade, &c.—Mineralogical Notices.

IT was in the summer of 1813, while the rigorous enforcement of the French decrees precluded all hope of approaching the continent from any other quarter, that we set sail from England, and after a tedious voyage of fourteen days came to anchor in the port of Gottenburg. As

our haven, this spot had a double claim to interest; but neither was it in itself devoid of interest or beauty; the romantic aspect of the country around, the splendor of the town, the infinite variety of foreign shipping, and the numerous bustling groups that thronged the quays, all attracted our attention, while we saw or thought we saw a thousand novelties on every side.

Our first night on shore passed with more than ordinary pleasure; and we awoke in the morning to the lively airs of a military band of music that pays the compliment of welcome to every new arrival.

But already possessing the usual impatience of travellers, we took the earliest opportunity of making use of our liberty: our *förebud (foreboder)* therefore, for such is the custom, was despatched in advance; and two pair of horses, in the Swedish fashion, being yoked abreast to the carriage, we set out, before the oppressive

heat of the day had well commenced, on an excursion to Trolhättan and its neighbourhood. Our mode of conveyance, in appearance so triumphal, was afforded at the moderate expense of 12 skillings bco. (9d.) each horse per mile, or in other words, for seven of our measure; while with regard to extra expenses, four or five skillings to the postillion and hostler at the end of the stage, as snaps or drink money, was held a liberal gratuity. The roads were excellent; the rate of posting from seven to ten English miles within the hour: and in addition to these advantages, the regulation of the dag-boke *(day-book)*, where, at each stage, the traveller is required to enter his name, as well as the complaints he may be desirous of preferring against the post-master, is a sufficient check upon his conduct, to secure even a stranger against any attempt at imposition.

As to provisions, rye cakes, milk, and fruit, were all that were to be had on

the way; no other circumstance, however, that could give a charm to travelling was wanting. Our route lay chiefly on the river side, and abounded in successive changes of picturesque scenery: the valley was inclosed with low broken hills of a rich verdure, interspersed with forests of pine, amidst which the bare rock started out at intervals here and there irregularly. The horizon was for the most part of a limited extent, or, if otherwise, displaying only a constant repetition of the same forms: a style of landscape never rising to the character of the sublime, or sinking below a certain degree of interest; but its peculiar features have, not long since, been traced out by so able a pencil*, that to attempt any other delineation would be alike useless and vain.

We arrived at our destination early in the evening, and without loss of time repaired to the cataracts of the Gotha, the

* See Sketches of Scenery in Norway and Sweden by Sir T. D. Acland, Bart.

din of whose waters had been long within our hearing. It was a scene of stupendous horror, of which the report of travellers had not spoken too highly: the whole body of this majestic river, hurried over four mountainous precipices in rapid succession, presented a sight which not all the tropes and figures of the poetasters of the album at Trolhättan, in all their several languages, can set out with appropriate imagery.

But whatever attention might be due to the face of nature, there were works of art at this place which challenged an almost equal share of our admiration. For the purpose of avoiding these falls, that for many ages obstructed the communications of the country, a navigable canal had been excavated in the solid rock of granite, which being near two English miles in length, and carried to a depth in one part of an hundred and fifty feet, was a scheme that few minds would have originated, and still fewer ever have ventured to put in execution. The great undertaking was com-

pleted, after six years labour, in the year 1800, and it already* pays, as we were informed, an interest of 42,000 R. D. per annum upon a capital of 358,988, originally expended; a return, amounting to near 12 per cent., and sufficient to afford the most unequivocal testimony both of its success and of its great public utility. As the speculation indeed of a company of individuals unaided by the government, it is an example of enterprise to be met with in few places out of the limits of Great Britain; as a triumph of skill in the art of engineering, it has effected an object, whose difficulty is proved by the several abortive experiments yet visible on the spot; and as a national benefit, it may be viewed as of the highest importance, forming, as it does, one of the chief links in the line of connection between the eastern and western coasts of Sweden.

It is scarcely possible duly to appreciate

* The toll duty is seven skillings each skeppund, or 3 cwt. English: ten skillings per dozen for deals.

the advantages that must accrue to a country of such vast extent and one so thinly inhabited, from the improvement of her means of internal communication. We hear at home an almost incredible value assigned as the amount of our domestic commerce; and it will require but little sagacity to see that in the present condition of Sweden, the facility of circulation can alone afford means of diffusing or equalising the general wealth and resources of the nation.

The ingenious construction of the sawing-mills may be mentioned here, although commonly seen in many parts of these provinces. The balks of fir being thrown into the river for conveyance as soon as felled, are collected from the reflux of a bason at the foot of the cataract, and each being drawn out with machinery, is separated into planks by eight or ten perpendicular saws ranged abreast; the whole of the apparatus is set in motion by a water-wheel, and acts much on the same principle as the sawing-mills lately constructed by Mr.

Brunel at Woolwich, though by no means carried to so high a degree of mechanical perfection.

July 8.—Our road from Trolhättan continued through much the same style of country as before, till at length, after a few miles, we came in view of the town of Wennersburg, the seat of the provincial government, or in English the *county-town*, which is said to contain upwards of 1400 inhabitants: its situation at the head of the lake Wenner was striking enough, but it was otherwise remarkable for little else than its appearance of extreme poverty; the squares, the churches, the streets, are all of wood, daubed, according to fashion, with yellow or red ochre, and in a moderate state of cleanliness or repair. The ravages occasionally made by fire in these wooden cities may easily be imagined, and Uddevalla, which was our next station, afforded us an example, being now in part only rebuilt, after an accident which about four years since reduced the whole to ashes.

In order to secure the citizens as far

as possible against such calamities, several minute regulations are put in force in every large town of Sweden. Not only are wooden houses forbidden to be built of more than one story, but as additional measures of precaution, no one can smoke a pipe, or even ride a horse fast in the streets, without incurring a heavy penalty from the police. And when, as is customary in the old towns, the hour is announced by a trumpet from the steeple of the church, the person so employed sings a song to assure the people that he can descry nowhere any signs of conflagration. The nightly song of the watchman as he goes his rounds dwells too upon the same subject.

Klochen ar tiă slugen
Guds hărliga och magtiga hand
Bevare war stad frăn eld och brand.

The clock has struck ten.
May God's mighty and gracious hand
Preserve our town from fire and flame.

Uddevalla has been unfortunate also in other respects; for the herring fishery, once

its chief source of profit, and which employed upwards of two thousand boats at Gottenburg, is now lost; as their shoals for the last five years have almost entirely deserted this part of the coast.

This province was now filled with military belonging to the army of Field-Marshal Von Essen, who commanded the troops destined for the protection of the frontier on the side of Norway. The first party that attracted our attention were employed in pitching their tents on the banks of the lake Wenner, where they added a new feature to the wildness of the prospect: as we travelled onwards, their scattered groups met the eye in every direction; some reposing in the forest shade; others encamped in small detachments in the rocky defiles, or marching, in long array, over the distant hills: sometimes again we heard them chanting their evening hymn in the villages as we passed, with a solemnity that seemed to raise a thousand associations of elder days.

On our journey to Marstrand we observed several huge blocks of stone, eight or ten feet high, erected in the middle of a large plain, and forming apparently part of a circular range, though accompanied with many others irregularly disposed. Ancient remains of this rude sort are frequent in Sweden; and are traditionally reported to have been once used as places of judicature, agreeably to the destination which is assigned by an able and intelligent writer to Stonehenge, in Wiltshire.

Strength and size are to an unlettered people the only objects of admiration, and to this we must attribute the massive structure of the druidical relics in whatever country they are seen. It is probable that they were frequently used to honour the memory of the dead: and there is mention made in Saxo's history of a great undertaking of this nature. Harold Blaatund, the son of Gormund, employed the whole corps of his navy, together with several teams of oxen, to convey an enor-

mous fragment of a rock found on the coast of Jutland to the spot where his mother was entombed: and having accomplished the task, so elate was he with pride that he demanded of one of the officers of his navy, whether he had ever heard of any work of such stupendous grandeur attempted before by mortal hands.

The country people here indeed assigned a similar destination to these masses; the place where they stand is regarded with superstitious awe, and "divine vengeance," said they, will be visited upon the head of any man who attempts to move them from their site: they are the memorials of a battle fought many ages since between the Danes and Swedes, and each stone rests over an hero's sepulchre.

While contemplating the men who related to us this tale, it was impossible to check a reflection unfavourable to the present degenerate offspring of the once hardy and robust warrior of Scandinavia.

We beheld a puny, impotent, and

meagre race, that tottered on their legs, seeming to exhibit, both in face and figure, every symptom of premature decay. Their inveterate habit of drinking is generally assigned as the cause of their wretched appearance; nor can it be a matter of surprise that the constant use of ardent spirits, taking effect on a body impoverished by spare diet, and enervated by the chill of a long and severe winter, should display itself in consequences of the most detrimental nature. If any other reason seem necessary, it may be found in the peculiar composition of the pernicious liquor to which they are accustomed. Certain suspicions on this head having lately arisen, an examination was ordered by the government; and the professor of chemistry, after diligently analysing the composition of the *branntwein* or brandy of the country, reported that it appeared to contain a quantity of alcohol, very small in proportion, a strong vegetable extract of a deleterious quality being introduced, for the purpose

of heightening the intoxicating power of the liquor, at a cheap rate to the dealer.

In order to put a stop to this iniquitous practice, a monthly inspection with the spirit gauge has been proposed, and a severe punishment to those who sell liquors below proof. It is imperious indeed on the government to adopt some preventive regulations, and to guarantee in some sort a beverage sold under their licence: for the right of distilling was vested exclusively in the crown by Gust. III, and the privilege is now farmed out under that authority. In token of which, the inns and brandy shops are obliged by law to emblazon the royal escutcheon of the three crowns in some open and exposed part of their premises; in the same way as the chequers (the arms of the Earls of Arundel who used to grant the licences) were formerly adopted in England, and are to this day, by a singular inveteracy of habit, seen painted on the shutters or doors of the alehouses in many towns.

The heat of the weather was now excessive, the mercury rising even to 90° of Fahrenheit's scale in the shade, and the days were tediously lengthened: though we rose early in the morning, it appeared as if we had reached the mid-day; and the evening came without ever seeming to close; the ruddy beams of the sun, long after it was set, still gilding the atmosphere until the latest hour of the night.

A singular effect during this season is observable in the landscape: the distant hills, when the sun is set, or concealed behind a cloud, assume a peculiarly heavy colourless aspect, and the strong black line they form seems to an eye accustomed to English scenery, as the phrase is, not quite in keeping: a correspondent darkness may be remarked in some of the best Swedish engravings of country scenery, as well as in the beautiful pictures of Falcrantz, who, though he may incur the displeasure of many a connoisseur, has pourtrayed nature faithfully as he saw it. The phe-

nomenon may perhaps arise from a greater condensation of the atmospheric moisture near the ground, in the northern latitudes, where the mean temperature of the earth is lowest: the particles being in a semi-opake state impede the transmission of the coloured rays; the pure colour therefore, which is always broken down by a white tinge of haze where they are illuminated and reflect the ray of the sun, becomes in its absence obscured by a negative shade of black. A contrary effect takes place in the glowing climate of Italy, where the vapours of the atmosphere are more completely held in solution: the tints and hues of distant objects are both bright and clear, and even the parts in shade enlivened by the most brilliant reflexions.

July 12th. Crossing the Gotha at Bohus, we returned to our hotel at Gottenburg, and rested there agreeably enough for a few days. One of the chief subjects of general conversation was the Crown Prince's late visit during his tour of the kingdom, which

had evidently rendered him here extremely popular. Besides the good feeling which a kind reception not unfrequently engenders in the minds even of those that receive, he had himself personally won the affection of every individual by that warm-hearted courtesy which forms the most essential feature of his character. But he had chiefly risen in favour with the mercantile world from having dismissed the agent of Buonaparte, an active and intriguing man, who had been sent hither to superintend the execution of the Berlin and Milan decrees. To have permitted his stay, indeed, would infallibly have proved the ruin of Gottenburg.

These preposterous laws, so rigorously fulfilled on the continent, had turned the course of trade into new channels, producing a rich commercial harvest to this port, as the chief point of communication between England and the north of Europe. But at the same time, with these advantages, there were already felt effects the

most prejudicial to the interest of the community, and that were seriously deplored by the more thinking part of the merchants themselves. The enterprises of trade had become a series of gambling speculations; faith and honour, the basis of mutual intercourse, were as things unknown, while every new violation of regularity and true dealing afforded a fresh opening for shift or subterfuge. It would be needless to attempt the enumeration of various instances of craft and duplicity that were necessary in carrying on this course of systematical fraud: false oaths, false papers, were matters of ordinary occurrence; and so great were the profits held out, that even solemn engagements of trust were broken by men whose integrity had hitherto been held unimpeachable. A merchant from this place consigned goods to a house in a German port: upon their arrival they were seized by the French executive, under the laws of the burning system, and condemned; on this, several false

packages were made up, agreeing in number and description with those that were sequestered, and publicly committed to the flames. In the mean time the French general shared, by agreement, the bulk of the property thus withdrawn from the operation of the law with the person to whom it was originally consigned; he on his part informed his correspondent that the goods were burnt (as in the eye of the law they were), and left him without power of redress. Temptations of this nature are too great for the spirit and feeling of trade to withstand: the high lustre and name even of the British merchant have, in certain ports of the neighbouring seas, been obscured by yielding to the allurements which this new face of commerce exhibited; and though not concerned in transactions of so flagitious a description as those we have just mentioned, yet some individuals have undoubtedly engaged in affairs of that clandestine nature, which would, a few years back, have been held

very incompatible with the strict honour of our countrymen.

The course of exchange was in nominal paper, at this time, in favour of England, but the quantity of bullion exported on private account proves that it was not in reality much more favourable in this quarter than elsewhere: the fact may be easily accounted for, since the Swedish paper was now at a depreciation of more than one-third of its value, when compared with the price of silver, which is by law made the standard.

As to the business of Gottenburg, if it should be wished that one might form an estimate of its extent, compared with other places, a sort of conjecture may be made from the circumstance of the exchange upon London being affected in its variation by so small a sum as 25,000*l.* if not drawn with great caution. Since this amount is of course within the reach of many monied men, an advantage has sometimes been gained by influencing the market, merely with a view to make a profit upon

its fluctuation; and a scheme of drawing upon London, through Hamburg, with this intent, has upon occasion answered extremely well the aims of the speculator.

It was curious to see the paper notes of Denmark offered for acceptance in the Gottenburg Exchange, where their rix dollar, formerly of much the same value as that of Sweden, sold for about six skillings banco, or four-pence halfpenny, the exchange of Copenhagen upon Hamburg being 5000 R. D. for 120*l.* sterling: so great was the depreciation it had suffered. The Danish government, in addition to their former embarrassments, had lately been unwise enough to injure the credit of their issues by resorting to the old experiment of raising the nominal value of their specie. The consequence of such a measure may be supposed: the peasant coming to town with a cargo of provisions for sale demanded the same number of pieces of small coin which he was before accustomed to receive, entirely disregarding the alleged

increase of a sixth in the value assigned to each: the promissory acceptance of the government made but little difference to him, whose chief negotiations were with his neighbours; and thus, with the price of the necessaries of life all other articles rose, while paper experienced a proportionable depression.

As to Sweden, paper may be said, from its long use, to be almost the natural currency of the country; and on this ground I have given the value of the nominal money according to the present exchange, as approximating to the truth, rather than attempted to accommodate its rate to the temporary increase of the worth of the precious metals, when the object is simply to ascertain, for purposes of comparison, the average standard prices of articles in general. The payment made for day labour, and the price of food, being facts illustrative of the economy of a country, have been carefully collected and noted down; the former represents fairly enough

the sum for which householders, of the lowest rank, can be maintained, and from its high price we may draw an inference favourable to the improving condition of Sweden; the latter shews the value of that sum compared with the produce of the country, but is liable in this respect to much variation, as neither can wheat or rye, or, indeed, any one grain, be called here an universal standard*.

Those concerns of Swedish traffic that look to any greater object than the direct exportation of a cargo of deals, iron, copper, &c. must necessarily depend upon the produce of a second freight to be procured

* The denominations of the currency are two; banco, and rix geld. the latter being government paper at a discount of one third of its value.

Banco.	Rix geld.	Prices.	Rdb.	sk.
		Day labour, in the country -	0	32
Rundstych (copper) 12 = a skilling (copper) 48 = a rix dollar banco (paper) in value at the present exchange 3*s.* English.	Rundstych (copper) 12 = a skilling (copper) 48 = a dollar rix geld. in value about 2*s.* English.	Exchange upon London, for 1*l.* sterling -	7	0
		Par of Exchange in undepreciated currency	4	32
		English guineas	10	24

The golden ducat (9*s.* 4*d.*) and silver dollar, are never to be met with; the value of the latter is 4*s.* 8*d.*

in the course of the voyage. In this way their East India company traded with the settlements of that country, by means of silver annually borrowed at Lisbon; and the ships now in preparation to visit the new acquisition of Guadaloupe were intended to carry iron to America, and exchange it for a cargo of provisions; with this they were to proceed to the island, and return home laden with colonial produce. It is hardly to be imagined that their manufactories could be in a state to supply matter for exportation; nevertheless they are increasing in activity, and enterprises in this line daily become more frequent in the neighbourhood of Gottenburg. One of the most successful speculations was that of a sugar-baker, who, at the suggestion of a French experimentalist, had adopted a new mode of refining that article: beet-root was understood to be chiefly used in the process; saving thereby a large expense in the article of bullock's blood, which had hitherto been constantly

imported from London by the proprietor of the establishment.

We had now dedicated as much time to Gottenburg as was warranted by the interest it afforded. On the 16th July, therefore, we prepared (and in Sweden much preparation is necessary) to set out on our journey to the south. An English fleet with troops on board was reported by telegraph to be in sight; but the post-master was inexorable, our *förebud* was gone, and we were obliged either to forfeit our horses or to proceed.

Our road soon carried us from this rocky district to a fine open level country, which continued with little interruption to the environs of Helsinburg. At this place we were gratified with an extensive view on the west, including the Sound, the town of Helsineur, and Cronenburg castle, about four or five English miles distant. Its vicinity, however, was of little consequence to us, for all communication between the opposite shores was at an end, and even

hostile measures partially adopted, though no actual declaration of war had taken place. A Danish boat, while we were loitering on the pier, was observed to put off and make for a Prussian galliot then passing downward; but on a shot being fired from the Swedish guardship, she hauled her wind, and returned with speed to port. On inquiring the reason of this proceeding, we were told that the demands of the duty formerly exacted for the passage of the Sound were now invariably resisted, to the no small detriment of the Danish finances; since upwards of twelve hundred vessels, each paying one per cent. on the value of her cargo, were formerly averaged on the books in the course of the year. The Swedes were therefore ordered to keep a strict look-out, since these claims were not only attempted to be enforced, but instances had occurred where several small vessels had been boarded and captured, under pretence of visiting them for the purpose of extorting the tribute.

With regard to defensive measures, it is to the flotilla of gunboats, in the management of which the Swedish sailors have acquired much expertness, that the protection of the towns bordering on the Sound is entrusted; and although the adverse coast approaches so near at this point, it is remarkable that not a single battery was to be seen on the shore for the security of Helsinburg. The place is left in an unarmed state, in conformity with the singular stipulations of an ancient treaty between Sweden and Denmark, dictated in the same spirit, and I believe inserted in the identical instrument, which settled the long disputed three crowns in the armorial bearings of Sweden, and forbade the repairs of one of the towers of Cronenburg castle. It would otherwise seem a strange instance of neglect, when the fields immediately above the town remind the spectator of a contest that took place at one of the most critical periods in the history of this nation. The Danes, crossing the sea,

landed here with a formidable army that menaced the country once more with their fetters. The king, Charles XII., was then at Bender; and the provisional administration being feebly supported, it was with difficulty that General Steinboch was able to meet the invaders with a force hastily collected from the raw provincial militia; but the time called for promptitude and decision; he hazarded an engagement, and Swedish valour won the day.

The southern provinces in general bear strong marks of foreign colonization: the buildings, both private and public, partake of a new style; the people are of a larger and handsomer race, their dress different, and their cattle (particularly their breed of horses) less diminutive than those of the district we had before traversed. Much may be owing to their long occupation by the Danes; but it should be remembered, that these parts also afforded an asylum to the numerous Lutherans who

sought shelter, during the reign of their protector Gustavus Adolphus, from the persecutions in Germany; and whose descendants form altogether so large a class, that to this time there is no considerable town in the south without a church, where service is performed in the German language. Some Scotch farmers, too, emigrants of the present day, had settled in these parts, and introduced their system of agriculture into the country with great advantage. The course formerly in use consisted, they said, of a continued succession of dry crops, such as oats, barley, rye, peas, and was succeeded by one summer's fallow; a bad system, but not therefore to be assumed as the worst specimen of the old style of Swedish farming. The natives, however, deserve some credit for the excellent drainage of their low lands, where the water was drawn from the ditches by pumps worked with windmill sails, and whose general appearance was so much better than what we had

before met with, that we looked upon it as the face of a new country: unless indeed the feeling of travellers, which is sometimes swayed by accidental prepossessions, induced us to think better of it than it deserved, there are few parts which afford so great a temptation to colonists either for pleasure or profit as the improving state of these tracts seemed to promise. We were in the enjoyment, it is true, of all the benefits of Swedish travelling. It was a beautiful evening, with a bright sun and cloudless sky: the road led through a country, not of much interest, but it was carried along a ridge of ground that rose with a gentle slope from the beach: the surface of the sea was studded with vessels under sail, and in the distance rose the spires of Copenhagen.

July 21.—The university of Lund, as is usually the case of these seminaries on the continent, resembles more nearly in its constitution that of a Scotch than of an English university, and consists only of

one establishment. It was vacation time, but the few chance residents received us with much politeness; in particular, M. Retzius, the professor of botany, who shewed us the botanical garden, a distinguished ornament of the place. The library contained about 30,000 volumes, and some indifferent pictures of sundry chancellors of the university. The observatory possessed a scanty apparatus of mathematical instruments, mostly of English construction; and some of the other public buildings were similarly furnished; but the object which chiefly interested our curiosity was the cathedral, a structure of grand and imposing aspect, the period of whose erection is referred to as early a date as the year 1020. It is built in a character perfectly corresponding with the Norman architecture of England; and exhibited, as is frequent in that style, the occasional introduction of the pointed arch, resting on large massive columns varying in shape and form. Underneath the nave of the

eastern end is a spacious crypt, adorned with some farther curious specimens of that day. Amongst others, the giant Fin and his wife are represented, in rude sculpture, supporting the arcade in the manner of caryatides.

This giant, it appears (not less mischievously inclined than the traditional Griffin of York Minster), removed by night every stone of the cathedral which the labour of the founder had placed during the day; nor could he be engaged by any intreaties to desist from his wanton employment till at last, thinking to annex a condition for his forbearance that was impossible to be fulfilled, he promised to leave the spot, when the founder's sagacity should enable him to discover the name he bore. The unhappy man, growing careless alike of every thing through despair (or perhaps in conformity with the practice of more classical heroes), indulged his grief in a solitary walk by the sea-shore; here it chanced his meditations were interrupted by the voice

of the giant's spouse calling for her dear Fin. He caught the sound with joy; returned forthwith to Lund; repeated the name with a loud voice three times in the dead of the night, and dispelled at once the charm. We find (according to the relation of graver histories), that Lund was erected into a bishopric in the time of Eric the Good, for the superintendance of all the churches of the North, which were till then under the jurisdiction of the bishops of Bremen and Lubeck; and it is held to be not meanly endowed, the present revenues being about 1500 rix dollars banco (or 225*l.*) per annum, a comfortable episcopal income in this land of cheapness.

We travelled hence, through Malmö, a place of considerable trade, and formerly one of the Hanseatic towns, to Ystadt, our next place of destination. The road was more enlivened by the idea that we were soon to embark for Germany than by any interest in what surrounded us, and we felt no small pleasure in our arrival at the haven.

The situation of this small town, so convenient for purposes of communication with Germany, had rendered it now a scene of much bustle: the inns were filled with mercantile adventurers, and a melancholy band of refugees, who were flying from the prosecution and vengeance of the French at Hamburg; so that it was not without difficulty that we obtained accommodation. Here, however, we were constrained to wait some days, perpetually disappointed in our hopes of departure by the dilatory conduct of the Swedish packet-master; and it was only on the 27th of July, by the kindness of Lieutenant Smith, the commander of a cutter which was there in attendance on the English couriers, we were enabled to quit the port. After two days sail with an adverse wind, we reached the Defiance, the flag ship of Rear Admiral Hope, at that time lying off Veenamunde, and were next forwarded to the town of Rostock, which lay about eight miles from the mouth of the river. Arrived

at this place we might have fancied ourselves still in Sweden, but for the greater degree of splendour which was displayed. The streets, and in particular the market-place, afforded here, as there, ample specimens of the old fashioned German style of building; innumerable spires, high roofs, and lofty gable ends, surmounted with cumbrous decorations borrowed from different systems of architecture. However they may suffer in comparison with the more chaste fashions of modern ornament, their various combinations produced in some points an effect of considerable grandeur, and in the eye of a traveller had the appearance of forms not ill sorted with the unbending, unvarying solidity of the character of this people.

The brick walls of the town, part of which are now remaining, were built as early as the 12th century; the whole is now surrounded by earthen works of singular construction, high ramparts with a

sloping escarp, and a ditch of nearly twice the depth allowed by the later rules of military proportion, being of a scale almost as gigantic as that of the fortifications at Vienna: height, depth, and length seem indeed at one time the only properties by which engineers sought to give strength to their fortresses; and so far have they succeeded that Rostock may be regarded, with a view to the uncertainties of the times, as a place, even now, capable of being defended with some advantage.

Frederic Francis, Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, is the sovereign of this country: he is of a family that may be classed among the most ancient in Europe, being descended from the chiefs of one of those northern hordes, who, under the names of Vandals and Heruli, inundated the south of Europe in the fourth and fifth centuries. If it is necessary to inquire any farther, we shall be told that the hero from whom their lineal descent is traced was Anthy-

rius I., who died 320 A. C. To these people a Sclavonic colony was afterwards associated; but the same house, as kings of the Heruli, kings of the Vandals, as dukes or princes of Pomerania, of the Venedes, of Mecklenburg, &c. have been in possession of the throne until the present day: and though generally, perhaps, of no great account in the eye of the historian, we must not forget, in this long order of sovereigns, that an Albert of Mecklenburg was once called to the crown of Sweden, to protect the liberty of that nation against ambitious Margaret, the Semiramis of the north.

The chief university of this principality is at Gustrow, at which place, and at Wismar, are established the tribunals or seats of justice, for even these minor states contain a complete system of every administrative branch within themselves. The population of Mecklenburg Schwerin amounts to near 300,000 souls, and the annual revenue is little short of 1,000,000

dollars*. Notwithstanding, however, her real extent and power, Mecklenburg has not in later times occupied that rank in the Germanic body that she might fairly seem to challenge: a circumstance, says Frederic II., in the history of his own time, which was chiefly owing to the perpetual dissensions kept up between the sovereign and the diet of the states, who thwarted and counteracted the power of the executive, frequently receiving large bribes from the neighbouring sovereigns for that purpose. Representative assemblies *(landstände)* were at one time almost universal throughout Germany, and indeed throughout Europe at large: it was only in a few provinces that the sovereign was, from the first, despotic; but where the power of convening them depended only on his will,

* The exchange upon London was $4\frac{1}{2}$ dollars for 1*l.* With Sweden 2 paper dollars rix geld for a German d^r. The currency was chiefly in silver specie, pieces of $\frac{1}{3}$ of a dollar, the coinage of Mecklenburg or the neighbouring states, dukedom of Brunswick, kingdom of Westphalia, &c. A dollar = 24 groschen = 3*s.* English.

they naturally enough fell into gradual disuse and oblivion. Their establishment arose, in each instance, from the influence which the clergy, the lesser nobility, or the citizens, had obtained previous to the final erection of the principality; and these classes will be found in general to form the three estates. The several systems, however, were framed with an irregularity consequent upon this order of things: in Mecklenburg, for example, the nobles and citizens composed the diet; in Wirtemberg, the clergy and citizens; and in the Tyrol, a fourth body was added from the deputies of the peasants. Their power also was as various as the circumstances of their origin: in one country they granted the supplies, while in another they were only called upon to guarantee the promissory issues of the sovereign; but in no instance whatever were they regulated on a principle of equipoise and balance of political power, or calculated to afford all the benefits they

professed to secure. Indeed the right possessed by the subject of appealing from the tribunals of his sovereign to the high court of the empire (however necessary under circumstances) is, in itself, of such a nature as to render any due adjustment of the several branches of the constitution utterly impossible: we must not therefore be surprised at the mischief occasioned by the representative system of Mecklenburg. But the evil is not incurable: and we find that during the conference at Teschen in the last century, the Duke of Mecklenburg earnestly solicited the abolition of this privilege: his claim was heard, and its merits being duly weighed, acceded to, but still made subject to certain exemptions and restrictions, which rendered the measure adopted a very inefficient remedy for the evil of which he complained.

There is another peculiarity to be attended to in the state of Mecklenburg, which is, that the peasants are still at-

tached to the glebe, and sold as slaves together with the estates*; nor is this the only example of the late existence of feudal bonds in these parts of the world: certain lands of the chapter of St. Cloud, in Franche Comté, were fiefs of a like description, as also some particular estates in Bohemia and Hungary. The vassalage of Mecklenburg however does not weigh down the peasants like the oppressive hand of the seigneur in Russia or Poland; they are, to appearance, as happy as their neighbours, and exhibit in their easy condition a curious instance of the indirect influence which the refinement of manners, and general civilisation, may exert upon institutions still displaying in the letter their primeval severity and barbarism.

The present descendant of Anthyrius is a well disposed person: he resides chiefly at Dobberan, a very fashionable watering-place, where he keeps up the festivities of

* Slavery was abolished in Mecklenburg, by a decree of the assembly of the states, in April 1818.

the gay world with great spirit; but times were now critical, and a cutter was stationed off the coast, to enable him on the first appearance of the French to fly to Russia, where his connexions with the imperial family assured him an asylum.

But it is not meant to throw any slur upon his character: he was the first prince of Germany who dared to withdraw from the confederation of the Rhine, and range himself under the banners of the allies. Of his sons, Prince Gustavus had already greatly distinguished himself; and the services of Prince Charles had also gained him an high character in the field, while his people had shewn great ardor in the new cause at a still earlier period: they indeed fell in a body upon the French troops as soon as ever the arrival of a division of the Russian army was announced, and this before the Duke had yet declared the part he meant to espouse. Considerable activity too was manifested at the present day: the *landwehr*, or regular mi-

litia, had been assembled to the amount of 12,000; while a detachment of 3,000 men, under aid of a subsidiary treaty with Great Britain, were on the point of marching to join the army of the North: besides which, the *landsturm*, or *levy en masse* of the inhabitants of each district, were called out and exercised every Sunday evening. We had an opportunity of seeing them soon after our arrival: they were a motley, not to say grotesque group, habited in their working dresses, and armed with swords, muskets, pikes, or, as it appeared, such weapons as chance offered. They are considered at all times as forming a stationary corps in the parts to which they belong, and are thus capable of materially aiding the operations of war in their neighbourhood, by acting as partisans.

Having time enough before us, we made a visit to Dobberan, which was only two German miles distant from Rostock; nor, as far as the beauty of the place would recompense us, were we il repaid for our

excursion. The church, the relic of an ancient monastery, stood in a well wooded valley at the entrance of the village; the palace of the duke, the public rooms, and the theatre, forming an handsome range of buildings, were at a short distance from hence, and in their front were the fashionable promenades, which encircled a small lawn decorated with Chinese pavilions, the whole bearing an air of singular gaiety and liveliness. At the hour of dinner we took our place amongst the rest of the visitors (being near 300 in number) in the hall, where the reigning duke and hereditary prince presided at the head of the *table d'hôte*, so little ceremony was observed. Besides the unusual influx of persons from Rostock (for it was Sunday), the company consisted of a few of the neighbouring nobility, mixed with the Russian, German, and Swedish officers from the corps of Walmoden and Vegesack, stationed in advance of this place. There were present also a number of merchants

who had lately made their escape from Hamburg; and the conversation in our part of the table turned chiefly upon the outrageous conduct of the French upon their return to that unfortunate city; great stress being laid on the fact of their having compelled the ladies that had worked the colours of the Hanseatic legion, as well as several old men of considerable rank in the city (equally obnoxious from their patriotism), to make their appearance with spades in their hands, and muster with the common labourers, to work on the fortifications. This is not the only instance of the barbarous conduct of the French towards the female sex that chance has brought to my knowledge during the course of my journey; but their "age of chivalry has long been passed," revolutionary freedom of manner and speech has long banished from society the breeding of the courtier, and Paris is no more the mistress of ceremonies to the world.

As to Hamburg, there were other par-

ties who, though not agents in this disgraceful scene, must be considered as answerable for events of which they were, in a great measure, the cause. The Russians had taken possession of the place without duly considering the consequences that would in all probability ensue: it was a step directly contrary to the advice of the Crown Prince of Sweden, who thought their force at that time by no means adequate to so extended a line of operations; while under any circumstances of reverse the town could not possibly have been defended without the occupation of Altona; and the perverse Dane was the friend of Buonaparte. The prince indeed had put the Swedish officer under arrest who joined this expedition without his orders; a step which, although it was no more than the common course of military discipline required, was now made the subject of much conversation, and afforded food for speculation on his future conduct. His proclamation, which appeared in the course of

this month, was well conceived with regard to the peculiar circumstances of his situation. *C'est maintenant que les rivalités, les préjugès, et les haïnes nationales, doivent disparoitre devant le grand but de l'independance des nations. L'Empereur Napoleon ne peut vivre en paix avec l'Europe qu'autant que l'Europe lui est asservie.—Soldats, c'est donc aux armes qu'il faut avoir recours pour conquérir le répos et l'independance. Le même sentiment qui guida les Francois de* 1792, *et qui les porta à s'unir et à combattre les armées qui etaient sur leur territoire, doit diriger aujourd'hui votre valeur contre celui qui, après avoir envahi le sol qui vous a vu naître, enchaine encore vos frères, vos femmes, et vos enfans. Oranienbourg,* 15 *Aout,* 1813. It was at Demmin, which we made our next station, that we hoped to have caught a sight of this extraordinary royal personage, for his head quarters were understood to be fixed at that town; but certain advices had induced the allies to change the plan

of the campaign, and his presence was rendered necessary in another district.

Aug. 3.—Immediately on quitting the walls of Demmin we found we had passed the frontier of the ducal dominions, and entered the territory of Brandenburg. This country was much the same as what we had before traversed: the line of our road (which the slow rate of German* posting afforded ample opportunity of surveying) was occasionally interrupted by forests of vast extent, dark and tall; the rest consisted of large, uninclosed tracts of sandy uplands, cultivated with different grain, more remarkable for their extent than fertility, and for an apparently whimsical variety than for any signs of the discriminating skill of the agriculturist. Yet from the space thus laid out, the aggregate produce must be extremely large: it was from the exports indeed of this soil that

* Price of posting, eight groschen (1*s.*) each horse per German mile, equal to about four and a half English miles, or 15 to a degree.

Frederic II., who was a merchant-king as well as a general and philosopher, drew the sources of his immense wealth. "*Appre-*" *nez-moi,*" said he, to one who presented an alchymical plan for producing gold, "*apprenez-moi des moyens de multiplier* "*les bras des laboureurs, et de recueillir* "*plus de bled de mes sables, plus de foin des* "*mes plantes marécageuses,—voilà l'or que* "*je cherche.*"

The want of inclosure may be regarded as a sufficient testimony of a deficiency in point of skill and arrangement on the part of the farmer; but the tenure of land in this country, and indeed on the continent in general, is not of a nature considered to operate most beneficially towards the interests of husbandry. It is true that, in the Lutheran countries, the land is usually freed from the burthen of tithe, but it is the mode of occupation which proves so highly objectionable; every estate is divided in two parts, one of which is set out

in proportionate shares* to be tilled by the peasants for their own subsistence; the other is cultivated for their landlords, in order to fill the capacious granaries which appear every where to be attached to the mansion of seignoralty: thus is removed from both parties either the stimulus to improvement, or the power of effecting it.

As the population however is not over large, this imperfection of their system is but little felt, and I may say that the condition of the peasantry is by no means severe; their *Höfdienst* or soccage service requires the labour of perhaps three or four days in the week at most during the busy month of harvest; at other times it is but light, and their duties are discharged by turns. Their cottages were large and roomy, containing each two or three families; the inhabitants, though few were now to be seen, in appearance well fed and

* Price of day labour in ordinary times, about six groschen, near Demmin, or 9*d.*

comfortable, partaking something of the ease discernible in this class in countries where they are themselves proprietors, and something of the plenty of those who are more immediately dependent on their lords. It is a matter of curious remark, that on affairs in which the king is concerned, the mode of summoning the peasantry is by a staff sent round the village by the *schültze* or bailiff from house to house; each cottager, as he receives it, conveying it to his neighbour, much in the same way as the members of the Scottish clans were formerly gathered together by the token of the burning cross.

A few miles carried us over another frontier into the territory of Mecklenburg Strelitz, and in a few hours we arrived at its metropolis, the city of Neu Strelitz. This duchy was separated from the parent state of Mecklenburg in the person of Adolphus Frederick II. at the end of the seventeenth century, upon the same preposterous principle which has so frequently

the chimney top, seemed to bewail the loneliness around. Filled with these dreary images, we drew near the border of a forest, where our attention was arrested by a simple monument which was erected to the memory of the late Queen. It was here, while on her journey, she was seized with that inflammatory complaint, whose violence baffled all attempts at relief, and in a few hours carried her to her grave. During the present eventful epoch we needed not to call in aid the solemn character of this sequestered spot to heighten those impressions, chivalrous as well as melancholy, which a reflection upon the fate and virtues, the sad reverses and premature death of this beautiful and amiable princess, will never fail to excite in every honourable and feeling mind. We travelled through the gloomy forest in silence,

villagers have a superstitious persuasion, that the stork is a bird of good omen: and under this idea, if he settles on their houses, they preserve him with religious care.

and with sensations hardly to be exceeded by the gallantry and loyalty of a Prussian bosom.

The lone and fire-stained walls of Liebenburg exhibited again traces of the disastrous events of the campaign of 1806: a few new-built houses seemed scarcely to raise their fronts, among the wide-spread ruins of the village; and many a long year must elapse before this plain will recover its wonted face of cheerfulness. In the morning we arrived on the banks of the Havel at Oranienburg, where was a neglected pile of buildings, once the residence of the Princes of Nassau-Usingen; but, feeling little inclination to halt while Berlin was within reach, we hastened on, and after traversing another wild and trackless forest were conducted to one of the long avenues that led to the city gates.

The old German mode of building, noticed in a former page, had for some time gradually disappeared from our road, giving way to an elegant ornamental style,

formed with peculiar taste on the Italian models. In the first streets of Berlin we were particularly struck with some of the chastest and most elegant specimens of this character, set out with a degree of grandeur which we had but little expected to see. Still as we proceeded, at every step we gazed with fresh delight, when the first opening of the Linden Strasse burst upon the view, eclipsing whatever we had hitherto seen, and presenting one of the finest architectural vistas in the world. On the right we looked down a splendid street, shaded with a double avenue of lime-trees, to the majestic portals of the Brandenburg; on the left to the royal palace, along a line of lofty façades ornamented with porticos, statues, and every variety of sculptural decoration. No imagination can conceive a scene, in the strict sense of the word, more beautiful than what is here presented.

The old town lies in the centre of the place, encircled by the branches of the

Spree, that in earlier times formed the *fosse* of its fortifications. This part however possesses no great interest, except as giving specimens of the style previous to the era of Frederic* II. in the palace and the arsenal, which are far outshone by the elegant edifices erected in his or in the succeeding reigns, particularly the Italian Opera-house, the theatre and churches in the Place de Gens d'armes, the Brandenbourg gate, and the library built after a design by Frederic himself. This monarch indeed seems to have infused a new feeling of taste into the nation, and to have given not only a different face to the condition of the state, but to have produced a perfect revolution in the minds of his people, and well indeed would it have been if his spirit of theoretical improvement had been

* As several English authors have enumerated the Kings of Prussia in a different way, this may require explanation. The succession runs thus:—Frederic I, Frederic William I, Frederic II, Frederic William II, Frederic William III.

confined within these limits. However this may be, even a refined taste in any of the polite arts will be held by some superficialists to be of an exotic growth in a country situated in so northerly a latitude; but it must be confessed, it has here attained a degree of practical perfection, which in some respects stands perhaps unrivalled.

We visited the several manufactories soon after our arrival, and saw more objects worthy of our admiration than the former accounts of travellers had given us occasion to expect. Their porcelain is infinitely superior in beauty to any which I have elsewhere seen: the colours are dark and harmonious, the forms elegant and classical. In other branches, their articles of bronze, their carpets, their iron ware, as well as the dressing up of the shops themselves, displayed a discrimination and judgment in selection equally excellent, and such as may be called truly characteristic of Berlin.

The prevailing mode in furniture is no less correct in taste: the floors inlaid and ceilings painted; no addition seems wanting to complete the *tout ensemble* of ornamental effect, yet no part is crowded to excess. Neither are they, as to certain kinds of manufacture, by any means deficient in technical skill. At the iron foundery they have acquired an art of casting small ware articles which, I believe, is peculiar to themselves; their imitations of the most celebrated antique cameos and intaglios, the medals of Lord Wellington run upon an impression of the original cast at London in silver, as also the iron cross for the campaign of 1813, on which they were now employed, may be cited as fair examples; the sharpness and precision of form with which they are executed are equal to what might be effected in the most ductile metals. The work when finished is rubbed over with burnt porcelain earth, receiving a rich hue of jet, and thus set off is generally made up for ornamental

undersell us, at least, if not to rival us, in specimens of metal manufacture. But there is a fashionable rage for articles of English workmanship in preference to all others, which ensures the market to us in a great degree. If we were to investigate the cause of such a partiality, there is no one who could venture to attribute it to the beauty of our forms or patterns; it depends alone on the great credit we have acquired for solidity and strength: nor indeed do we often hear English workmanship commended on any other grounds. Of this superiority the long practised skill of our manufacturers is, no doubt, one cause; but other circumstances also may be enumerated as contributing, in scarcely a less degree; the powerful steady heat, for example, produced by a coal furnace, as preferable to that obtained from charcoal, where fusion is concerned; and the almost universal adoption of the steam engine, a constant and evenly regulated power for

the nice operations of machinery, so that the work is necessarily of the same quality throughout.

But as to this country, the state of Prussia, even in better times, shews that she is not yet in condition to supply herself with manufactures in general, much less to aim at obtaining the advantages to be derived from a system of export trade. The workmen (who indeed are ordinarily said to be ill paid) cannot average a gain of more than two dollars per week, and a day labourer employed in the cultivation of land will earn at seven gr. per day nearly the same sum, or at least the difference is such as not to allow any great encouragement to an artisan: when therefore the acquirements of skill are so poorly recompensed, it is contrary to nature that undertakings of this description should flourish to any great extent. The wages of both one class and the other perhaps may seem low, but we must observe on the other hand that their mode of living is not attended

with very heavy expense: the cheapness of provisions (wheaten bread being only at one-third of its price in England), and the excellent mode of cooking various sorts of pottage afforded by the most ordinary cooking shops, make their fare appear sumptuous in comparison with that of an English workman. Their* lodging, too, costs but little, for no one occupies more than one flat or floor. It is owing to this latter circumstance that one sees mechanics and artificers, of every description, inhabiting some of the fairest houses of the city. A practice essentially different from that of the Englishman in general, who loves to call his house his own.

We inspected, such being the duty of travellers, the preparations in the theatre of anatomy, and the museum of natural

* The number of the inhabitants in Berlin was about 154,000 in 1811; 7625 Calvinists, 3236 Catholics, 3281 Jews: the body of the people are Lutherans.

Returns of births, deaths, and marriages.

	Marriages.	Births.	Deaths.	Among whom of the small-pox by infection.
A. D. 1810	1947	5738	5268	94
A. D. 1811	1812	5817	5642	4

history; as also a valuable collection of mineralogy, which has been lately enriched by the treasures of Humboldt. We were shewn, among others, a rock specimen (porphyry, containing small particles of hornblende,) taken from the highest point which he was able to reach on Chimboraço, as detailed in his voyage to South America. This celebrated traveller had, with his characteristic spirit, refused this precious cabinet to the repeated solicitations of Buonaparte, who wished him to give it to the museum at Paris, though the restoration of his estates, which he had lost in the Prussian war, was proffered as a compensation for such a sacrifice of his beneficent intentions to his native country.

The royal college, or university, a large range of buildings, where most of the cabinets of science were placed, was at this day uninhabited: the students, to the number of 800, had volunteered their services at the first breaking out of the war; and some of the professors too, who would

have been held excused on the score of their duty, upon this occasion shewed a similar ardour, and exchanged their sedentary occupation for the fatigues of the field. Axtel, Amdt, Bernstein, Schleiermacher, are names that deserve ever to be recorded in the annals of patriotism—they were Prussians.

At the upper end of the street where this building stands is the Brandenburger Thor, or Gate, a colossal structure, built after the model of the Propylæa at Athens; and deservedly ranked among the grandest specimens of modern architecture: its majestic and imposing front acquired additional dignity, at this uncertain period, from the awful recollection which it seemed universally to excite in the minds of the beholders. It was from hence Napoleon's barbarous hand tore the car of Victory, that once graced the summit; and it was upon this spot that the triumphant tyrant displayed to an humiliated people all the pomp and pageantry that decked the



BRANDENBURG GATE, BERLIN.

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proud march of the conquering legions of Jena.

This monument was regarded by all as something of almost a sacred nature, and in the year 1814, the success of the campaign having brought it into the hands of its original possessors, the act of its restoration was accompanied with the most interesting ceremonies; it had been removed from the Tuileries at Paris, and being conveyed to Berlin, was replaced in its former situation, but kept constantly concealed from public sight by a covering of linen. On an appointed day, the king, accompanied by his chief officers and guards, entered in solemn procession, on his return from the war; when as he passed under the gate, the veil of the chariot of Victory was lowered, and this trophy of Prussian valour again met the eye of the people. At this moment the peals of ordnance echoed through the air, the martial music struck up, and the loud acclamations of the crowd were raised with a din that

overwhelmed every other demonstration of public joy.

Leaving this quarter, and skirting the park on the right, we arrived at the road to Potsdam, to which we were carried through an avenue of poplars, more than four German miles long, for in this fashion all the roads are ornamented to a certain distance. Potsdam is a little town of palaces, seated in a romantic situation on the banks of a small lake formed by the river Havel; well known as the favourite residence of Frederic II. to whom almost every building or ornament of the place is ascribed. In the hey-day of his partiality for this spot, he gave great encouragement to settlers, and any person wishing to build had only to lay his foundation, when the king generally took upon himself the direction and charge of raising the superstructure. One man, in the Place de Guillaume, had his whimsical fancy gratified by the erection of a dwelling in the fashion of a convent; another of a Grecian

palace; and a third, who was a Hollander, seeing the success of the former petitioners, solicited for himself a similar extension of the royal bounty: it was immediately promised. 'Ay,' said mynheer, 'but I want a Dutch house.' 'You shall have a dozen,' replied his majesty. It was done, and the astonished traveller, after traversing numerous elegant modern streets, lights upon a street of Amsterdam, in the *Rue Hollandaise.*

But the king, rather lavish in expenditure than judicious in the adjustment of his plan, when he had erected these dwellings was unable to provide the means of supporting such expensive establishments. The town, which enjoys no other trade than the demand and consumption which the residence of the court afforded, is now reduced to a miserable and impoverished state, and all its splendid mansions are verging fast to decay.

The charming retreat of Sans Souci consists of three separate pavilions, the first

containing rooms of state, the second private apartments, and the third a picture gallery. We were shewn the apartments occupied by Voltaire during his visit to Prussia, and we listened with pleasure to a recapitulation within these walls of the well-known stories of the life of Frederic the Great, of his amusements, his reviews, his occupation at his dying hour, &c. The interest of the scene was much heightened by the enthusiastic manner of the narrator, who had passed his earlier years in the service of that singular personage.

The gallery of paintings, although it had suffered from the rapacity of the French, yet contained some fine pictures, chiefly the works of Rubens, who was said himself to have formed this collection for the Elector of Brandenburg, in part from those belonging to Charles I. of England. The sketch of Moses by Rembrandt, the Roman Filial Piety by Guercino, and the four Evangelists by Vandyke, as well as Venus attired by the Graces, and the

Judgment of Paris, by the first-mentioned painter, are well worthy of observation. Of modern specimens it was not uninteresting to see the performances of the *elèves* of Frederic II. who endeavoured to promote the cultivation of this talent among his people, at a time, perhaps, premature: the examples were from the pencils of artists who had been sent to study at Rome, and, in point of brilliancy and harmony of colouring, deserved high encomium. As for any thing beyond these excellencies, we saw only rigid exactness, strict proportion of beauty, and the academical protraiture of the cold exterior, works of the hand alone, unenlivened, unimpassioned. Whether owing to any injudicious selection of persons that were ill suited to this object or not, I cannot say; but after all, the Prussians are in this respect scarcely more unfortunate than many other nations their neighbours.

Besides three other royal seats in the environs, mention may be made of the Palais

Royal and Palais Neuf, which rival each other in external magnitude and internal splendour: all is marble, silver, gold; and the dimensions of the apartments are such, that the glare of these ornaments is quite lost in their vast extent, nothing remaining upon the mind but one general impression of magnificence. In front of the area before the Palais Neuf rises an open semicircular colonnade of the Corinthian order, with wings surmounted with lofty cupolas, and affording an example of unparalleled boldness of outline and elegance of design. This truly royal structure was built by the ostentation of Frederic II. after the close of the seven years war, and is a worthy memorial of such a triumph; but in its present neglected state, it stood as a melancholy, reproachful emblem of former greatness, and of the hopes of a nation that, till now, had seemed obscured for ever. The wild borderers of the Oural and the Don, riding at full speed through the desolate court, hurraing, firing pistols, hurtling their

feathered arrows, or with their long spears tilting against the wind, formed a singular association with buildings that seemed to rival the proudest monuments of the Roman empire.

We visited a detachment of the Cossacks *en bivouac* (for they never receive billets of quarter) about a mile distant, and we understood there were some thousands dispersed in different parts of the neighbourhood: they all were full of life and spirits; some were seen dressed in French jackets, others set off with Turkish belts and pistols, and scampering through the streets or over the fields, in all the rudeness of their mirth without order or restraint; the citizens greeting them as they galloped past with an 'hurrah, Cossack!' while they grinned good humour in return. They appeared to live without discipline, marauding and plundering wherever temptation offered; and from the successful practice of these habits, they were regarded by the common people as men

that had, for their rank of life, considerable command of money. The idea was not without foundation: I once, indeed, happened to see a common Cossack enter a shop at Berlin, who ordered a silver chain to be made for him at the expense of upwards of 70 dollars; it was intended as a fancy ornament for his grotesque dress: neither was there any thing in the whim or the expense that was held at all extraordinary in such a character.

August 9.—At our return to Berlin, we found our inn surrounded by a prodigious crowd, that welcomed, with acclamations, the arrival of General Moreau, then on his way to the headquarters of the allies at Prague. We were disappointed in the expectation of meeting him at the evening party of the Princess Louisa, as he declined the invitation on the score of fatigue: but we saw him afterwards at our hotel, and he seemed in good spirits, speaking with the utmost confidence on the aspect of affairs, '*tout est assommé.*' Various were

the reports in circulation on the engagements of this *ci-devant* revolutionary general, being now the second of that stamp who had ranged himself under the banners of the allies; but it is probable that arrangements had for some time been entered into with him on the part of the Emperor of Russia, as Colonel Rapatel, his former aid-de-camp and late companion at Morrisville, was resident for several months during the preceding year at Petersburg. Of the sound and just intentions which he entertained no better testimony can be given than his own words; " *je recevrai des remercimens de la France et du monde entier. Pour renverser Buonaparte, peu importe la banniere pourvu qu'on reussisse: si Robespierre avoit été tué par les royalistes, les republicains les en auroient remerciés vingt-quatre heures après**."

The people of the city in general seemed

* See extract of a letter of the 21st August, 1813, published at Petersburg in the *Eloge funèbre du Gen. Moreau.*

to weigh these matters with little nicety, but we were much entertained with the simple feelings of a Cossack who had accidentally mixed with the admiring crowd. At hearing the bare name of a French general he grew extremely violent, and when told that the Frenchman would command Russian troops, became quite furious, venting his rage by the most wild and savage gestures. The parallel instance of Bernadotte would serve for nothing: the Prince of Sweden was a Swede; nor was it possible to quiet him, till a by-stander humorously asserted, that the father of Moreau was, he believed, a Muscovite.

Each day, as it came, brought some new topic of congratulation. Austria had joined the coalition, and from hence people in general felt the strongest hope of ultimate success: yet such was the terror of Napoleon's name, that neither the triple alliance so happily formed, nor the assurance of the numerous forces that were assembled, could dissipate a sentiment of

something more than anxiety for the future. Nor was this a feeling confined to the vulgar and uninformed, but extended to the highest classes of the community, and chiefly seen amongst those who knew him best: his very presence inspired a mixed sensation of aversion and fear: even general officers of tried and well-known courage as his adversaries in the field seemed to regard him with an almost superstitious awe, and were often heard to declare they had felt themselves appalled when accidental circumstances had thrown them in the society of such a man; a man to whose genius all appeared to bow, and to whose destinies continued success seemed to be indissolubly attached. In England he had created no inconsiderable sensation, but in Germany the universal feeling was of another description; he was dreaded as a demon rather than feared as a human being. One indeed there was, and one alone, of all those hitherto opposed to him, who had uniformly foiled his arms in the course of a long pro-

tracted war, and for ever broken the magic spell of French invincibility; nor were his achievements unknown or undervalued here. The victories in Spain were celebrated by the Prussians as if they had been their own; they became the chief theme of every gazette, and were made the ground of hope as well as of exultation. At the windows of every shop the prints and medals of Wellington were proudly displayed, while his name was more frequent on the tongue of the people in Berlin than even in London itself; and sentiments of admiration arose that begot a kindred flame throughout the country, adding fresh nerve to every arm, and inspiring new vigour to every mind, till not a thought found place in a Prussian breast, nor other feeling than the hope of emulating the deeds of British heroism.

How different are the pictures of our imagination from the scenes which actually meet our eyes! Would it be possible to enliven the realms of fancy with a sight more

cheering than that of a nation rising, as with one soul, to avenge their lost honour? Could we draw more lively portraits of Patriotism and Courage than appeared in the energies of these people? Yet what was, in reality, the aspect of Prussia?—All trade, domestic as well as foreign, was completely at a stand; commercial confidence extinguished, under an apprehension of the instability of affairs; heavy forced loans were levied on every individual; the plate of the palace melted down for the public exigencies; the government paper at a discount of three fourths of its value; the possession of land a burthen, from the heavy expenses which it entailed; the harvest rotting on the ground; immense foreign armies in the heart of the country; their chief fortresses still in possession of an enemy;—add to all this the anxieties of a people, whose fear of the future was built on a sad experience of the past, and some idea may be formed of the calamities that

a nation must endure, while smarting under the scourge of such a war.

August 16.—At length the days past away that had allowed breathing time enough for any one to feel the full extent and pressure of his grievances: the armistice was at an end, and the fearful 16th arrived. The morning was ushered in by beating the *generale*, to keep the troops on the alert; and a cannonade which had been heard in the night had spread an alarm of attack, from the side of Magdeburg; while the information received in another quarter had occasioned the Crown Prince of Sweden to shift his quarters on a sudden from Potsdam to Charlottenburg. We saw large bodies of troops in motion upon every side; and near Spandau, whither we had proposed an excursion for the day, we fell in with a strong column of Swedes, who, with their long train of baggage, transported in the four-horsed waggon of the country, detained us more than two hours

before we could enter the gates of the fortress. The officers assailed us with inquiries after news from Berlin, and we on our side were as anxious to gain information from the army: but both equally fruitless; nothing was known except to those in the immediate direction of affairs. Just on the eve of a new campaign, we were here presented with the traces of the last. Scarce two months had passed since this town, then in the occupation of a French garrison, had been bombarded by the Prussian forces, and one quarter, in which the magazines had attracted the fire of the besiegers, presented a scene of devastation truly horrible. But the importance of the place had called the attention of the government to its future means of defence: the ramparts of the citadel, which had been partly destroyed, were now, therefore, under repair; they advanced, as may be supposed, very slowly, for want of hands; and a number of women were exerting themselves in the task with the greatest alacrity.

A considerable portion of the laborious duties, however, of every description, falls to the lot of the female sex, and it may be said that this was no more than the custom of Germany: but their exertions were far from being confined within ordinary limits; they too partook of the general feeling, and in the love of their country forgot themselves. One trait of patriotism in the sex well deserves to be recorded: the house of a poor woman having caught fire from the Prussian bombs, her neighbours gathered around her in haste, and endeavoured with officious earnestness to extinguish the flames. Hold, said she, my friends, do you not see our countrymen have set it on fire themselves? do you not understand that, if they cannot enjoy the town, at least the French shall not? let it burn! let it burn! —Rastopchin himself could have done no more. The Prussians seemed to have acquired a juster view of things than usually falls to the lot of the multitude, and to have learnt how to balance the self-priva-

tions of the present moment against the miseries of the future.

It seemed as if there were no exertions which they were not willing to make, no example of national devotion they were not capable of emulating, from the first moment that the decision of their king allowed free vent for the development of their feelings.

General Thumen was the officer in command of the Prussian troops employed at this siege, and when he directed his fire upon the town had well calculated the value of the sacrifice he was about to make. His conduct was much disapproved of in a high quarter; but the energy and decision of this veteran, though unauthorised, ensured the adoption of such measures as the necessity of the case required. What indeed would have been the situation of the country at this moment, had the French still retained possession of Spandau, commanding both banks of the Spree, while Oudinot, with a powerful army from the

south, was marching upon Berlin? How discouraging a chill might have been thrown upon the ardour of the nation, by the first successful blow of the enemy? What seeds of future ruin to the cause might have been engendered by the operation of such a 'fond and foolish' course of policy?

On our return from this place, at a late hour, every thing bore the face of warlike preparation: the villagers were provided with beacons to be fired as signals of the enemy's approach; the works of defence made by the citizens on the road were complete; night patroles were every where stationed at intervals; the fires of the picquets seemed to encircle the town, and the streets and walks began to swarm with the numbers of the combined army of the north of Germany, which was before heard of only as a name.

On the 18th we visited the palace at Charlottenburg, where the Crown Prince of Sweden had taken up his residence, and

were presented to his royal highness by Mr. Thornton, the English minister to the court of Sweden. His countenance was one of extreme penetration, joined to a prepossessing appearance of great affability, and his manner was equally pleasing and courteous; but we had not much opportunity offered us of making remarks, for scarcely had he prefaced his compliments with his usual *adieu* (a provincialism in the south of France), when General Adlercreutz came up with letters; on which he immediately retired from the levee. Among other persons of note we observed Sir F. D'Ivernois, Field Marshal Count Stedink of the Swedish, and General Pozzo di Borgo of the Russian service, a name of which the real friends of the good cause cannot speak too highly.

It was a fine evening, and we strolled to the Swedish camp, though it scarcely merited that appellation, when hardly five tents to a battalion were seen in the whole range. The troops were scattered over

some extensive fields in front of the royal palace, and their numberless groups, busied with their kettles over their fires, brought forcibly to mind the lively scenes of the pencil of Wouwermans. The Princesses Wilhelm and Louisa passing just at this time with their equipages through the plain, their several occupations were as in a moment broken up, and each regiment forming as they approached, saluted them with loud cheers, that evinced at once the enthusiasm and the gallantry of the native Scandinavians.

> ——— ladies, whose bright eyes
> Rain influence, and judge the prize
> Of wit or arms, while all contend
> To win her grace whom all commend.

These hardy sons of the north had themselves received but a scanty welcome: though large magazines were formed at Berlin, it was with the utmost difficulty that the commissary could obtain the necessary supplies; and one regiment which

we saw had remained two days since their arrival at Charlottenburg without having any rations distributed to them; yet no reason, even of a plausible nature, could be alleged for husbanding these resources on the present occasion; and the fatal example of Austerlitz, where similar neglect or misconduct led to that sanguinary engagement which overthrew the empire of Germany, was yet fresh in the recollection of every one.

The Swedes are of a bold, stout make, though not, as the phrase is, well set up; nor have they altogether that *tenu militaire* which is so much cultivated in the German and English discipline: but they have other excellent qualities; they are obedient, patient, brave, active, and of a tranquil, modest demeanour. So strikingly remarkable indeed is this last trait even in the most ordinary concerns, that a German soldier (whose notions of breeding had been formed in the French service) complained to me of the humility of these fellows, who

entered a liquor-shop, said he, with their caps off, and their money in their hands, bowing in a mute and quiet manner, ' totally unbecoming the mien and character of a man of arms.'

The Russians seemed in general straight, broad-shouldered men, of a middle stature, carrying in all points the most soldierlike aspect, and formed with every machinal requisite which an officer could desire; steady in the field, tractable in the camp, and, if only furnished with bread and brandy, at all times prepared for the most arduous duties of the campaign. Their artillery, like that of the Swedes, was admirable, and the corps appeared ill appointed only in one particular, namely, the surgical department, which, as usual in their service, was lamentably deficient.

The Prussians were worthy of the name of Frederic II. as they have since so often shewn; but they had experienced great difficulties and disadvantages in the formation of their army, from the limitations

imposed on them by the treaty of Tilsit. They were obliged to organise their force secretly, by frequent substitution of fresh recruits in their several standing corps, and by other steps of this sort. Near 150,000 regular troops were however now embodied, besides an equal number of *landwehr*, &c. and the exercises of these new levies were carried on from morning till night in every space of open ground in or near the metropolis. Many of the latter, notwithstanding the short time they had been under arms, were brought to an highly creditable state of discipline, and held fit to enter upon actual service. But it was an affecting spectacle to see one of these battalions so plain and simple in their appearance, without the enlivening insignia of military pomp, their mothers, daughters, sisters, wives, weeping in the ranks, as they marched from the city gates for the camp.

The *landsturm* too was called out and trained on stated days in each week to the

use of the pike: it was a levy *en masse*, which included all men in any way fit for service that were not otherwise enrolled. In the towns, to prevent the total stagnation of trade, the sweeping conditions of the act for raising the *landwehr* were relaxed, and the *landsturm* was composed of a numerous body of able and active men; but, in the country, only those between the ages of forty and sixty remained to be exercised in this class.

August 20.—We had as yet received no news from the armies in Silesia and Bohemia, but understood that they were already put in motion: the time was now come also for activity in the quarter where we were, and the several troops cantoned in the neighbourhood had begun to concentrate. The Russians were established near Spandau, the Swedes at head-quarters, and the Prussians on the high ground to the south of the capital, with detached corps under Tauenzien and Bulow, in advance near Muncheburg. As to the other

parts of the district placed under the command of the Crown Prince, a strong body was employed to observe Magdeburg, while General Walmoden, with the Anglo-Russian divisions, watched the movements of Davoust in the North.

The eye of every one however was now turned to Berlin. It was generally believed that the attention of the enemy was drawn to this point, and that Buonaparte had passed to the north bank of the Elbe, with a view to direct the operations in person. For the purpose of ascertaining the immediate object of their movements, a strong reconnoissance was made to the south, and again to the south-east, and they were reported to be concentrating their forces near Bayreuth and Luckau; it was therefore easy to surmise their intentions. General Chernichef was instantly detached to act on their left, and another light corps on their right flank, more effectually to conceal the intended movements of the main body of the allies, while

a corps of observation was kept in perpetual motion in their front.

It is not to be supposed that we were made acquainted with these circumstances at the time, for all was done with the utmost secrecy, and we only knew of events by their result. We were ordered to keep lights in our windows at night, on account of the passage of the troops; we saw frequently prisoners brought in, and an host of people constantly moving to and from the army. These demonstrations were all that were apparent, and the whole seemed to us to resemble the effect of a dramatic representation where something is carried on behind the scenes. This secrecy and uncertainty added much to the awfulness of the moment. But on the 20th the danger was too near at hand to admit of farther concealment; Oudinot, with 80,000 men, had advanced within ten English miles of the gates, and the utmost consternation prevailed at Berlin. The regiments on duty had been marched off by

beat of drum during the night, and at break of day the roads and avenues to the town were blocked up with the crowds that were pressing within the walls to seek an asylum; carts bringing in from the army the wounded, dying, and dead; peasants flying from the neighbouring villages with their wives, their children, their bedding, and whatever moveables they were able to save from rapine, which ensued alike from friend or foe. An anxious crowd of citizens awaited them in the streets, that pouring in from every quarter, wandered about in uncertainty, half amazed, half appalled, each one seeming to dread the solitude of his own home. Meanwhile a thousand stories inundated the town; our commander in chief was a Frenchman—every manœuvre was a measure preparatory to a retreat—our left flank was turned, and the north of the city totally defenceless—Buonaparte had directed his whole strength upon Berlin—the armies in the south were deceived in their calculation—

the enemy desperate—our allies uncertain. But these were told only as transient rumours, believed or discredited according to the humour of them that listened: order was every where observed, and no idle or factious people sought to profit by the public consternation.

Towards evening, a cannonade was heard in the distance, announcing the approach of the enemy: the hills near the Halle gate, as we rode out, were covered with a throng of people, some conveying ammunition or food, others labouring hard at the redoubts, others again traversing with painful curiosity the vast plain that stretched below, chequered as it was with the wreck of burning villages, and the clouds of dust and smoke that rose from the armies.

August 23.—Having packed up our baggage ready to be sent off from the place during our absence, in case of a reverse, we procured saddle horses, and joining company with Lord Stewart's aides-de-camp,

started at three in the morning for the fields where we understood the positions were taken up. We arrived just as the Swedes had finished their morning hymn: the ground they had quitted was scattered with the comfortless remains of the bivouac, boughs of trees, shutters and doors taken from the neighbouring cottages, or whatever might shield them from the heavy rain of the night; beyond, a magnificent spectacle presented itself; the sky was gloomy, but the sun had just risen, and exhibited the whole army drawn up in battle array, their long lines stretching to the horizon. The Swedes, who were 30,000 strong, occupied some rising grounds in the centre, above the village of Ruhlsdorf; the Russians, about 25,000, under Winzingerode, formed the right wing; and the Prussians, mustering an equal force under Bulow, were drawn up in a plain on the left; their flank rested on the village of Klein-Beeren, and was secured by a small knoll crowned with a battery of field-pieces.

Still further on the left, Tauenzien, with his corps, occupied the hamlet Blankenfelde, and a pulk of Cossacks were hovering about in the interval: in front of the positions rose some extensive woods, which concealed the columns of the French army.

In company with another friend, I rode along part of the lines, which reached upwards of six English miles in extent, and then returned to our station on the left, where the attack was expected to take place. Our little reconnoissance was followed, in spite of the national cockades which we wore, with an arrest by the officer in command of the cavalry, and we were sent under guard to General Bulow; to him, however, we had the honour and good fortune to be personally known, and were instantly released; but in these suspicious times accidents of this kind were of not unfrequent occurrence. At nine o'clock a cannonade on the advanced posts commenced on this side, which continued

about half an hour. At ten Tauenzien's corps seemed to be threatened by the movements of the enemy: upon which Bulow detached himself from the centre, and took up another position still farther on the left, and successively a third in the rear of Blankenfelde, at the distance of about half a German mile from the Crown Prince, leaving a few companies of *jagers*, with a battery of field pieces, on the knoll before mentioned, in order to protect his communications.

This was an interesting moment: the French were already engaged in skirmish, and the heads of the columns expected every instant to debouch from the woods; yet no anxious silence prevailed, no awful, death-like pause—all wore the appearance of mirth and gaiety; the troops cheered as they fell in, and ran up, where the distance of the files had relaxed, with the most enlivening alacrity. No attempt however was made in this quarter: but after waiting during two hours in a heavy rain, ad-

vice was brought that the piquets at Gros-Beeren had been driven in, and that the enemy were apparently advancing in that direction. This village was situated on the left of the centre, and about an English mile distant, the object of their movenmet was therefo re sufficiently evident: General Bulow retraced his steps, and marched thither without loss of time; for a rapid forward movement on their part would have cut him off from the Crown Prince. The enemy were discovered, in force about 15,000, drawn up across an open space between the forests; their right *appuyed* on the village of Gros-Beeren, and strengthened by a strong battery, concealed from sight, behind a grove of firs; their left posted on a gentle slope, secured by the woods on their flank. As our troops advanced, General Vorstell was detached with a small division to turn their right, while the main body formed, under cover of the artillery, in three divisions of two lines each, the battalions being drawn up

in masses. The heavy rain that fell rendered the musketry of little effect, but the first division advancing, undaunted by the fire of the battery which was directed against them, stormed the village of Gros-Beeren with the utmost gallantry at the point of the bayonet: this advantage was instantly followed up by a well-timed charge from the cavalry; the remainder of the French line now began to waver, and as the two other divisions were coming up, the cavalry on the right charged in their turn, and the field was in an instant covered with the bodies of the slain.

As to other parts of the position, our centre had been threatened, and the Swedish picquets in front of Ruhlsdorf were driven in; but the well directed fire of the artillery soon checked the advance of the enemy.

Tauenzien met with similar success in repulsing an attack upon his position, which took place somewhat later in the evening: and upon the whole the French

lost 14 cannon, upwards of 60 ammunition waggons, besides 1500 prisoners: this victory was, moreover, succeeded by the repulse of Girard's division on its march from Magdeburg, which was intended to have co-operated with the army of Oudinot. These were great advantages; but what was of still more consequence, the feelings of the Prussians were invigorated by the auspicious event of their first struggle at the opening of this campaign, and their capital, by the exertions of its native heroes, was again placed in a state of tranquillity. Bulow followed up his victory, and continued a brisk pursuit during the night, driving the broken and dispirited divisions of the French before him to Luckau, the first place at which they were able to make head against their pursuers.

On the following day we revisited the field of battle, and spread among the soldiers the news of the victory gained over the French army in the Pyrenees; it is singular, that we had before had an account

of this event, and that an exaggerated one, from the head-quarters of the allies, who received it *via Paris:* but Lord Aberdeen, who passed through Berlin on his way to Vienna, had brought the confirmation of the intelligence. It was hailed here on the field with enthusiasm, and every regiment cheered us on our passing by, as the countrymen of Wellington.

Our return lay through the ground occupied by the Swedes, and as both officers and men were now removed at a distance from Berlin, they were extremely glad to have any conversation with persons who might bring them news.

The Crown Prince possesses, it seems, a wonderful talent of conciliating the affections of his soldiers; he was as much beloved by his present army (both officers and men,) as he was said formerly to have been by the corps which he commanded in France. It so happened that the first two French prisoners who were taken had formerly served under his orders: hearing this,

he sent for them, restored them their arms, gave them food and money, and dismissed them without delay, bidding them spread the report among his companions that Bernadotte was there: "*ils ont versé,*" says the bulletin, "*des larmes de joie en revoyant leur ancien general.*"

A score of Cossacks, who had distinguished themselves the day before in skirmishing, were ordered up during our stay to receive some mark of their commander's approbation: he complimented them very highly, and gave them each a Louis d'or with his own hand. Hardly had they departed when the physician in chief of the French, one of their prisoners, arrived: he was stripped even to his dirty shirt, and his nakedness scarce covered with the remnant of a pair of tattered trowsers. A greasy Cossack cap, in exchange for his own, had been added to ornament his droll figure, which excited a burst of laughter from the whole suite.

The Cossack corps do not, however,

always confine themselves to such venial acts of piracy, but carry to a complete system the irregularities that ordinarily proceed from the lawlessness of war, rendering themselves as much an object of dread to their friends as their foes. At one of the villages which we passed the people were in a scene of confusion; the men had armed themselves with their pikes, and were hastening to assault a party of eight or ten of these freebooters who had entered their dwellings a short time before, and after tying the hands of those whom they found at home, plundered and pillaged without reserve; carrying away every thing even to the forage that had been provided on requisition for the Russian cavalry. The arrival of a Cossack officer quieted the fray: he seemed enraged, and reprobated their conduct both by words and gesture; after which, however, they all rode away together.

We had some conservation with one of these singular beings on our road to the

city: he was (as they generally are) of an interesting countenance, and possessed of great natural quickness of mind and acuteness of observation: he talked German tolerably well, and discovered in his way considerable knowledge of the affairs of the late extensive campaign, even of those actions where he had not been personally concerned, evidently taking much delight in giving his opinion on marches and counter-marches, and plans and battles. On quitting us, he "threw his flight in many "an airy wheel," casting himself as he couched his spear above or below the horse's neck, sometimes on the right, at others on the left, with surprising adroitness and dexterity. But their power of horsemanship is no more than they ought to be expected to possess: this race, in fact, pass their whole lives on horseback; and though their high and forward seat seems to an Englishman rather awkward, yet they possess a thorough command of

the animal, and are, in fact, Centaur-like, identified with the beast itself. They acquire too, from their mode of living, a sort of sagacity, bordering on instinct, that almost exceeds belief. Place a Cossack with his ear to the ground, he will tell you the numbers of a distant cavalcade. Make him your guide to any remote spot at night, and he will read his way in the stars, and give a thousand other marks of that species of cunning for which savage nations, unused to occupy themselves with other food for their thoughts, are universally so remarkable.

War upon the French is as popular with them as a party to the chase, far different in their estimation from the service they undergo in fighting against the Turks, where their peculiar skill in skirmish is of little avail; the horses of the enemy are equally strong and active, the men equally expert in single combat with themselves, and able to cope with them at all points. From hence we may form some idea of the

nature of their operations in general: invaluable as scouts, or as partisans, their imperfect order and discipline renders them incapable of making a charge on troops of the line; yet, with the assistance of their flying artillery (for a Cossack will accomplish in his own fashion the most scientific duties of the field) they have occasionally achieved actions that seemed far beyond their power and means. If they succeed in throwing the enemy into confusion by the fire of these pieces, they rush in upon the broken ranks, and cause prodigious slaughter; if not, they will withdraw themselves from any untoward circumstances their advance may have entangled them in, with less than half the loss which a regular regiment would have sustained in a similar situation. Several scenes of their exploits, during the preceding months, were pointed out to us in the environs of Berlin.

Some of these Cossacks, or Bashkirs, were, from their dexterity, appointed to train the cavalry recruits in the use of the

lance, since there were two or three regiments so armed in the Prussian corps. The weapon is poised in the right hand, and being struck on the hip, is whirled round over the head with the impulse, and the point brought on either side, before or behind, as occasion may require: several other motions were added, but this seemed the foundation of the exercise, and to give the greatest facility in handling the lance.

As to the habits of thievery of which these troops are so universally accused;—it is but fair to say, that a large proportion of the number are not of the native Cossack tribes: a vast body of Russians, men of the lowest description, were inrolled under this name, being armed and mounted in a similar way, and consequently employed in the same duties, for which indeed alone they seemed to be in any way fitted. Though the real Cossacks have a happy turn for predatory rambles, it is unfair to involve them in the general cen-

sure that follows the actions of these vagabonds.

On the 27th the Russian and Prussian corps had both quitted their positions, and we found the Swedes breaking up and commencing their march. The infantry formed in two columns of about 12,000 men each; the cavalry again in two columns, and the artillery, caissons, &c. made up a fifth. From the hill above Teltow the sight was of a very imposing nature; these long lines, attended by the suite of the Crown Prince, appeared, directing their march in parallel directions over a vast plain, which was unobstructed by hill or dale, and permitted the spectator's eye to follow them till they were actually lost in the distance.

In the course of the week a deputation from the *bourgeoisie* had waited on the Crown Prince at the head-quarters at Teltow, to thank him for having averted the storm that threatened their city. He re-

plied, he had as yet accomplished nothing that deserved their expressions of gratitude. "I know," said he, "I have much to do; "I have set myself to the task, and when "I see your king placed in the same situa- "tion as before the war, then, and not till "then, can I receive your thanks." The deputies returned highly gratified with their reception: and though the Gascon style of the bulletin that followed was not at all understood, though their German phlegm could not comprehend how he should predict that the *landwehr* of Mecklenburg should throw themselves upon the French parks of artillery, or the *landsturm* cover themselves with glory, yet they felt a sincere gratitude for what he had already effected, and which certainly had not been prophesied from any quarter.

It was a curious circumstance, not a little characteristic of French vanity and assurance, that upwards of 150 letters were about this time received at the post-office, addressed to officers of the French

army, whom their friends (in consequence of Buonaparte's proclamation), supposed to be now enjoying themselves at Berlin: they contained many remembrances and expressions of affection from officers to their female acquaintances of the preceding year, who would for once have been better pleased to have been passed unnoticed, since several unexpected disclosures occurred, that were the source of infinite raillery and scandal in the town.

Aug. 29.—On Sunday the minister at the French church took occasion, in the course of his sermon, to compare the state of the city at that moment with the hideous consternation that had prevailed seven days before; he painted the contrast with much feeling and animation, many of the audience seeming affected even to tears. These worthy citizens of Berlin merited all the success that human assiduit could claim: I may venture to say that there is no other city in which the willing kindness and persevering good

will, which is characteristic of Germany, is made more generally apparent. If on the present occasion the men had exerted their utmost, the female sex were not inferior either in activity or inclination: the same ladies who had before given their jewels as contributions to the state, afforded, in the present exigency, a still more benevolent assistance; every house provided with means of accommodation became a gratuitous hospital for the reception of sick or wounded men; while their thoughts were so engrossed by the war, that no other topic of conversation occurred in society, and to make lint or bandages were the employments that took place of the usual amusements of an evening party. The Princess Wilhelm and Princess Louisa, foremost in every act of patriotic virtue, provided for near thirty wounded soldiers in their own houses: besides this, in order that single ladies might share this general work of charity, a subscription hospital was established under their patronage in

the Frederick Strasse, capable of containing 100 patients; where tender and elegant forms were seen daily nursing in turns, and serving at the bedside amidst groans and scenes of anguish more distressing to a mind of sensibility than all the pictured horrors of the field.

It so happened at this time, that nearly the whole number of officers there received were volunteers serving in the army at their own expense: accidental this, it is true, yet it was an accident that could not have taken place under any other times or in any other situation. There were numerous regiments of volunteers who had now taken the field: a corps of cavalry of this description, 450 strong, had marched from the city about a fortnight before; there were two companies of chasseurs from Swedish Pomerania, who had the honour of acting as guard to their prince: and among many others we had frequently heard mention of Lutzow's free corps, Schill's corps, and a strong batta-

lion of Mecklenburghers, who were serving in the north on the same conditions. O the bourgeois, whose professional avocations precluded them from active service, there were, it may be added, 15,000 armed and equipped at their own charge, now doing duty at Berlin; and besides them, these train-band corps which were generally established throughout the kingdom were numerous enough to relieve the regular troops almost every where from their stations in the towns. Those again who were from any cause incapable of such exertions strained every nerve to compensate in other ways for their personal inabilities; they sent contributions to the Hôtel de Ville of whatever they thought most appropriate for the use of the army and hospitals; blankets, matrasses, shirts, shoes, &c. or as their several circumstances would admit, daily portions of bread, meat, biscuit, wine, &c. Indeed the Swedish corps up to this time had scarcely received any rations but from this irregular

deposit, which was, by its nature, exposed to depredation, and, as may be supposed, fell far short of the aggregate amount that the liberality of individuals had designed. The discovery of this abuse alone operated as a check to that sentiment of universal enthusiasm which pervaded all ranks and all conditions of the inhabitants of the Prussian metropolis.

In the mean while the redoubts and other works on the roads of approach from the south were carried on with the greatest industry: the citizens laboured in rotation, each single person, or chief of a family, though a female, taking their turn once a week by themselves or by substitute; for Berlin was defenceless, being only surrounded with a slender brick wall, unfit for military purposes, and only built with a view to prevent the evasion of the excise laws. By these means two strong forts were erected on the rising ground fronting the Halle gate; and on the Potsdam road also some lesser works

to defend the passage of a branch of the Spree. They consisted of a platform for one gun in the centre, flanked by two demi-bastions; the whole revetted with turf, and constructed under the eye of the royal engineers in an excellent style.

This appearance of spirit and ardour in the people might easily be contrasted with the feelings that prevailed on the opposite side, and which, had we no other means of being informed, might be gathered from the confession of the prisoners. The materials of the French army appeared to be of the most heterogeneous composition; Italians, Saxons, Dutch, Spaniards, Bavarians, Wirtemburghers, Portuguese; conscripts, or allies. Some even of the French national guards had been inveigled to the field; for the difficulty of finding men, both in France and in all parts subject to her influence, had daily increased during the last two months; all prices, from 1000 to 10,000 dollars, were said to have been

offered for substitutes, and, in many places, without success.

It was impossible not to feel some compassion for these poor victims, large bodies of whom we saw hurried along to prison in their feeble state, footsore, worn down with fatigue, and the unsatisfied hunger of two days or more: amongst them were a few French boys scarcely seventeen years of age, that seemed ready to drop from faintness by the road-side. Hated as they were, the women of Berlin would frequently stop to throw small pieces of money into the miserable group as they passed, and then slink away as if ashamed of having been betrayed by their feelings to such an act of charity. To describe the interior of the places of confinement, where numbers lay with their mangled limbs extended on the floor, crying out for surgical aid, that was now so difficult to be procured, would be a painful task; and I feel neither ability nor inclination to undertake it.

It was curious to observe, at this epoch, the fluctuations of the exchange* upon England; during the moment of alarm, it rose from four dollars to near five, and in a few days again returned to its former price. Gold in the same way, from the increase of demand, was proportionably augmented in value, to the no small surprise of a foreigner, who on changing a ducat or Louis d'or in the shops, gained a sixth more than he had been in the habit of receiving. The chief management of money transactions is here in the hands of the Jews; this

* Exchange at par is six dollars, 16 groschen, for 1*l.* sterling. The currency was chiefly silver coin, as gold was not very abundant; the smaller pieces were of six or twelve groschen, of silver much alloyed: 24 gr. = 1 dollar or 3*s.* English.

The English guinea had not risen here in price, when compared with Prussian money, but was valued at 7 dollars. The same, I believe, may be said with regard to other parts of the continent where specie was in use.

The coinage of the neighbouring states circulated without difficulty, as generally the case in Germany.

Prices.—Day labour, in ordinary times, six to eight groschen; at this time ten.

science, indeed, so inexplicable in some of its branches, seems to form their true *cabala.* From the dark ages to the present day, they have always been foremost in the knowledge requisite for such pursuits, the ablest conductors of negotiations of barter then, as in exchange of money now, or the highest and most lucrative species of commerce. Being as it were but one family, scattered through various countries, at the same time precluded from the acquirement of real property in many, they were compelled to apply themselves to these objects, in which their habits of mutual intercourse and connexion gave them greater facilities than were possessed by the resident natives, and in which they have for the most part been eminently successful. There are few places where their useful qualities have secured them a better reception than at Berlin, where Frederic II. the protector of all strangers, besides other favours, gave them the permission to become proprietors of land. The

colony of the Jews is the largest foreign establishment in the city; there is one also of the Bohemians, and another of the French, neither inconsiderable in size, nor unserviceable in their example and industry to the population and wealth of the place: the latter are the descendants of those refugees who fled from France at the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, when emigrations took place to so many other countries, some remains of which may still be traced at London, in the neighbourhood of Soho.

To be made liable to an occasional act of *ejectment* is one of the most ordinary calamities to which those are subject who are involved in the ever-changing circle of French politics. It was shortly after the affair of Gros-Beeren, that a noble emigrè, the reigning Duke of Oldenburg, arrived at Berlin, driven from his territorial possessions by the forcible occupation of the French army. Prince Paul of Wirtemberg also sought shelter here, from circumstances

that may be attributed to the same origin; he was, however, a voluntary exile, having, much to his honour, at this early period of the war, embraced a line of politics in direct opposition to the conduct pursued by the court of Stutgard.

August 30.—To balance against the unwelcome intelligence of Davoust's advance to the neighbourhood of Rostock, we were told that the allies in the south had debouched from the defiles of Bohemia, and were marching in great force on Dresden, into which place Buonaparte had thrown himself. Information too was, at the same time, received of General Blucher's first victory in Silesia, followed by another affair on the Katsbach, where upwards of 10,000 of Macdonald's corps were cut off and made prisoners; a triumphant exploit, such as might have been expected, from the ardour and activity of this veteran warrior, united with the distinguished talents of General Gneisenau.

The gallant Blucher was the idol of the

whole army, and now the more held up to their notice, as having been the constant mark of the persecuting and vindictive spirit of Buonaparte: he held himself adverse to the insidious schemes of France in peace as in war, and having refused to accept a command in one of his expeditions, the ignoble upstart had the meanness to demand that Blucher should be dismissed from the post with which the king had rewarded his long-tried fidelity. His upright, spirited, and open temper, was sufficient to ensure him the affection of the soldiery, as was made conspicuous in the late affair: the same rains that swelled the stream of the Katsbach, and prevented a large body of French troops from joining the main army, had rendered the roads almost impassable to their pursuers, and some battalions, exhausted by the fatigue of their long marches, stopped to rest, declaring themselves totally unable to proceed farther. Blucher rode up to address them, " Are you wearied, my children?"

said he, " Are you drenched with rain? " Are you pressed by hunger? And am " not I, in my old age, subjected to all " these sufferings alike with every man " amongst you? But the enemies of my " king are in the land, and I have sworn " to take no rest—follow me." They instantly rose as if his words had wrought a miracle on their jaded bodies; they continued their march without a murmur, nor halted till they reposed on the field of victory.

The hopes of the people began to rise at this moment, and the turn of circumstances in general seemed to flatter their best wishes; yet still the name of Napoleon was a fearful sound, and rarely was it pronounced without some expressions escaping of fear and solicitude. It was with a view of counteracting this impression that several political publications had been written, and sent forth designedly to animate the public mind. *Das neue Deutchland,* (Germany renewed) *Reden an der Deutscher*

Nation, the *Leyer und schwert*, and many other works of similar descriptions. The late successes were placarded on the trees in the streets. Gazettes also were frequently circulated, composed in a style of narrative that might strike and catch the feelings of the lower classes; they contained remonstrances against suffering "the strong man "to enter your house and take your "chattels"—dialogues between a courier and a loyal village bailiff, on the news of the day; or still more to encourage them, exaggerated representations of the late British victories in Spain, &c. in one of which it was positively averred that the French had lost 15,000 men, while the brave Britons had but one single horse slightly wounded (*nur einziges Englische pferd leicht blessirt*:) some puns too were occasionally introduced on this topic, and the enemy retreating in the neighbourhood, were said to be struck with panic, (*panisch*) or Spanish (*Spanisch*) fear.

Sept. 1.—Rumours from Dresden, ima-

ginary, or real, now became frequent: one reported Buonaparte a prisoner, another Dresden taken, another on fire; but though we were in the capital of Prussia, intelligence that could be trusted was difficult to be procured, and no person was, for some time, aware of the sad reverse that had really occurred; the allies had been repulsed in their attacks upon the outworks with the greatest loss, and were flying to shelter themselves in the mountains of Bohemia. Their advance was precipitate, their retreat headlong and without order, and the cause in general seemed to have received a fatal stroke from the misfortune of General Moreau. Having ventured with the Emperor of Russia, and some of the staff, in front of one of the batteries of the allies, against which the fire of the enemy was directed, and being about half his horse's length in advance of the party, he was on a sudden struck by a cannon ball on the thigh; it passed through the body of his horse, and dread-

fully shattered the other leg, driving him with violence to the ground. A heavy rain was falling at the time, and he was taken up so covered with mud, that one could scarce distinguish the blood issuing from his limb, which appeared only attached by a few lacerated sinews to his body. But immediate assistance was given, and four Cossacks of the imperial guard, making a litter with their pikes, conveyed him in this miserable plight, and deposited him at Dippoldiswalde; thence, as the French troops were advancing, he was carried to Laun, where he stopped, and Sir J. Wylie (of the emperor's household) proceeded to the immediate amputation of his thigh. Moreau called for a *cigare*, and submitted without a word. This done, the surgeon informed him it would be also necessary to take off the remaining leg. He was silent for a minute—"Well," said he, "do your duty: had you told me be-"fore that this would be absolutely re-"quisite, I would not have submitted to

"the former operation. I hope, how-
"ever, I have too much sense of religion
"still left to permit me to think of what
"would amount to an act of suicide." The issue of this disastrous event is too fresh in the recollection of all to make it necessary to enter into its details. It was fated that we should be deprived, at a most critical period, of those powerful talents, which, when employed against us, had so often before ensured such brilliant success. The supporters of the great cause were amazed and confounded; Justice herself was arraigned; the impiety of Napoleon was roused into exultation. But the great Disposer of all events, whose views are unlimited as his means, had ordained these things in a far different manner, and, no doubt, in a way far more compatible with the general interests of mankind. Still, however, we must feel for the individual; and every friend of integrity, constancy, and public virtue, will shed a tear for the fall of so great a man.

Among other opinions of Moreau, for now every word he had uttered was carefully treasured up, his last advice to the King of Prussia is on record; it was an earnest recommendation that he should act with more reliance on his own judgment in the conduct of military affairs, in which he had frequently given proofs of that talent which is sometimes accompanied by an amiable but injurious diffidence of mind. Buonaparte himself, from what is said to have fallen from him, had lately made a similar estimate of his merits. But it is worth while to place in opposition to this fact, an anecdote that displays the contemptuous light in which he had formerly affected to regard him. At a conversation during an interview appointed by him with his majesty and the Emperor of Russia, he took occasion to address, by way of compliment, some few questions relative to military matters to the emperor, such as in what time a certain regiment of his hussars could charge over so much

ground? and so on; then turning suddenly to the king, "And how many buttons," said he, "do your good men wear on their "pantaloons, and" (with a sneer) "how "many on their skirts behind?"

Moreau's favourable opinion was shortly after justified by the signal victory of Toplitz, which may be attributed as much to the judgment of the King of Prussia, as to the talents and intrepidity of Ostermann; and it proved a fair retort in the field to the insulting conduct of which Buonaparte had formerly been guilty towards a fallen enemy.

While the citizens of Berlin indulged themselves in all the expressions of joy that this important event might be supposed to communicate, they were little aware of the storm that was gathering, and the new dangers with which they were menaced. Burning with rage at the failure of Oudinot, Buonaparte ordered Marshal Ney to make another attempt to gain possession of the place, and strengthened him

for that purpose with large reinforcements. The firmness of Tauenzien and Bulow however in maintaining their positions at Juterboch, together with the prompt dispositions of the Crown Prince, saved the city a second time from the fury of its inveterate enemy; and the Prussians, ever indefatigable, added new laurels to their brows.

A bulletin, announcing these tidings, was read from the stage at the German theatre to a crowded audience, of which we happened fortunately to form a part: the actors were engaged in the representation of some common-place story of dramatic love, when on a sudden a stranger stepped forward with a paper in his hand. The performance was stopped; *lesen, lesen*, read, read, resounded from every part of the house, and each sentence, as it was read, was rapturously echoed with shouts of applause.

A fresh subject of cougratulation soon after occurred; upwards of 3000 Saxons,

who had come over to the Prussians during the action at Juterboch, marched into Berlin the next day, with looks that seemed to anticipate the goodwill of the people, and to claim from them a reception as friends. Considering the national antipathy that so long subsisted between these two countries, fostered by the usual jealousies of neighbouring states, and by the bitter feelings that still rankled in their hearts from the former aggressions of Prussia, this must be viewed as no ordinary proof of the influence of public sentiment in favour of the allied cause.

The pilfering Cossacks again made their appearance before we left Berlin; they had been charged, it appeared, with the care of the artillery, that, with 18,000 prisoners, was the reward of the victory, and ordered to convey it to the royal arsenal. The escort excited on their arrival much surprise among the citizens, by the additional articles of booty which they produced and offered to sale in the open

streets; bed-curtains, pans, cooking utensils, &c. and many things of this sort for a few groschen each, or any price that the bystanders would give. These circumstances being suspicious, an inquiry was set on foot, when it appeared that they had employed themselves on their route by pillaging the cottages near the road; wishing to do something on their own account, lest, when accompanying a public prize from the enemy, they should come to town themselves empty handed: but proper representations being made, they were all severely knouted on the morrow.

September 12.—A Te Deum was sung in the churches in the morning of this day, being Sunday, and according to the custom of the country an Italian opera was given in the evening in honour of the great victory. These spectacles are generally gratuitous at the command of the court, but this night a price was set on the seats, and the receipts destined for the relief of

the wounded. After these ceremonies, we quitted Berlin for the north.

It may be here allowed, perhaps, to take some slight review of a country that has lately made so distinguished a figure, and having risen from a small state now holds a rank among the highest nations of Europe. The period of her growth has been short: from the time that the Grand Master Albert united in his person the marquisate of Brandenburg to the fiefs of Prussia till the self-erected kingdom was announced to the world in 1701, is a period of only 175 years: a few years after this epoch, Frederic II. was seated on the throne.

The continued exertions of great and wise sovereigns, followed by the achievements of this extraordinary monarch, raised the country from the barbarous condition in which she languished at the middle of the 17th century, to a degree of activity and power that proves a memorable ex-

ample of what political science is able to effect in the moral world.

In the times that succeeded these hopes seem almost to have been extinguished. The treaty formed by Prussia in 1793, and her neutrality in the war that subsequently broke out, gained her no favour on the part of France, and her treacherous vacillation was visited upon her by the same arm that she had helped to raise. Whether jealousy of Austria, or a wish still farther to increase the unjust acquisitions of Frederic II. were her motives, it is not now to determine; her late conduct has obliterated in every mind the wish to enter into a reproachful investigation of past events. But Prussia, at the end of the above-mentioned war, was curtailed of one half of her dominions and population, reduced to the rank of a second-rate power of Germany, subjected to the privations of the continental system, and to the insults of French commissioners sent to execute its decrees. She was drained of men

and money by her imperious conqueror; and yet to complete her humiliation, the year 1812 saw the governor of Berlin, and his *commandant d'armes*, superseded by a French general and his *aid-de-camp*, while the troops of the king were marched under foreign banners to assist in the subjugation of his former generous ally.

In the next year the Emperor of Russia, when by a fortunate course of events he had freed himself from the enemy, was induced, partly through private friendship, and partly through a feeling of public spirit, to attempt the deliverance of Prussia: the zealous ardor he shewed on that occasion needs neither comment nor explanation; his call was heard and obeyed by all.

As the Russian army were advancing upon Berlin, the king, though narrowly watched by the French, contrived to make his escape by night, and fled to Breslau, as the only mode of reserving himself for future schemes. The wretched citizens

were now placed in the most awkward dilemma; their wishes and feelings were more than suspected by the French garrison and its commanders, and they were left without an intercessor. The lower classes, incapable of restraining their expressions of hatred, instigated still more by the daily appearance of the Cossacks at their very gates, seemed every instant on the point of committing some daring act of open revolt against their oppressors; while they, on the other hand, conscious of the rancorous feeling they had provoked, redoubled their menaces of vengeance, and this in so high a tone of insolence, as publicly to declare that the first act of aggression on the part of the inhabitants should be followed by the explosion of the military magazines in the Place de Guillaume, which would infallibly have involved in their destruction more than one half of the city. The atrocious temper of the soldiery was well known, and every day seemed big with the threat of some

dreadful catastrophe. After a few weeks spent in this fearful state of suspense, at length the French retreated: the gates of Berlin were instantly thrown open, and the Russians took possession of the place, where they were received as deliverers. Long tables were spread in the streets; hospitality of every sort was profusely lavished on the welcome strangers; and, to complete the general satisfaction, the king, complying with the voice of his country, issued a manifesto declaring war against France.

To the battles of Lutzen and Bautzen (which, though unfortunate, afforded some grounds of confidence to the troops), an armistice succeeded: it was granted on terms favourable to the ulterior designs of the allies; but the people, looking on war as the only means of escaping from the tyranny of Buonaparte, felt distrustful of the motives of this cessation of arms; they feared the continuance of the late obnoxious system, and received the king, on

his return to Berlin, instead of the joy that was expected, with sullen discontent. Scarce had a gleam of satisfaction darted upon them, when their hopes seemed at once to close, and they began to vent their disappointment in murmur and complaint: one or two individuals, indeed, were thrown into prison by the police for making public their opinions. Of the enthusiasm that afterwards burst out we have seen ample testimony above; but it may be perhaps worth while here to pause awhile, and to indulge a few reflections upon the circumstance alluded to, and the obvious tendency of such an order of things.

Under a form of government that admits no legitimate mode of expressing public sentiment, it is impossible not to respect at least this misplaced zeal, however reprehensible. The Prussians are a people, if properly treated, neither factious nor designing: yet the unfortunate policy of the court, so long persisted in, had excited complaints that were heard from time

to time, and have in fact produced the germs of parties that may one day or other, with the aid of that philosophy which is now so much in vogue, be of a dangerous consequence to the welfare of the country. A despotism is a primitive form of government, injurious ever to itself or its neighbours, which ought to be disavowed amongst the more enlightened nations of Europe, in such an era as the present.

But views of a higher nature than the rights and interests of a single nation seem to require that in a large portion of the European continent certain changes should be made. The public weal of Europe demands that Germany should be free: if she is not to lie at the mercy of the first conqueror that appears on the stage of the world, whether from the east or the west, her sovereigns* must be supported

* The Prussian government, by the decrees of 27 October, 1810, modified 24 April, 1812, is constituted as follows: The King, as sovereign, issues his orders partly through the council of state, partly through the cabinet.

in the day of trial by the powers and energies of a free people, without which the colossal bulwarks that modern policy

The *Council of State* comprises the princes of the royal house, the chancellor of state (president, having the superintendance of all the superior courts); ministers of state (interior, finance, justice, war, foreign affairs); the secretary of state, and other members appointed for particular times and purposes. The *Cabinet* is composed of the chancellor of state; the ministers of state (as before); a conseiller intime for civil affairs, and those of the court; the chief of the military department, and other persons especially appointed for military affairs.

The Prussian subjects enjoy no political liberty; their civil liberties, if they exist practically, only do so by sufferance. As to the much vaunted story of Frederic II. and the miller, it appears, on the very face of it, to prove their actual servitude. We are told, that in the course of the trial, certain representations, by private means, were made to the king; and sentence being given against the opinion he had formed, he reversed it (for he has this power), and punished several members of the court by imprisonment: he then directed a new trial, when the same sentence which was before given was confirmed by the second tribunal, and followed with the same consequences, to its component members.

The reader may hence judge of the freedom of a Prussian subject. On one point, nevertheless, they are at

has sought to raise for her protection will stand forward but to expose the more their real impotence.

Had Prussia been blessed with a representative system, had the feelings of the people been consulted, she would long since have decided, at a single blow, that war in which Europe was now engaged for the sixth time.

Had Austria* been so constituted, had

liberty; all religions are tolerated, and no persons, on the ground of non-conformity to the Lutheran church, are held disqualified from office: the Catholics however are in fact never employed.

There is a chamber of the states *(landschaft)* of the Electoral March, composed of prelates, nobles, and citizens: but their powers only extend to the guaranteeing the public debts of the electorate and providing the payment of their interest; the revenues of certain imposts being granted *by the king* for that purpose.

An edict of the king, dated May, 1815, promises a free constitution to all his states: nothing has, I believe, yet been done.

* The causes of the failure of this war are well detailed in a work entitled "*Tableau de la Guerre de l'Annee neuf.*" The book was suppressed by the Austrian government soon after its appearance.

a proper spirit of inquiry and activity thoroughly cleansed and purged the several parts of her political frame, that country, possessing the greatest national resources, and the finest troops in the world, would not have to lament the fatal reverses that have arisen from a disorganized government, administered by the hand of imbecility.

A pure monarchy is found weakest in a defensive war. Buonaparte never failed to take advantage of the defects of this form of government where it existed; and where it did not, he introduced it himself, in order to abet his schemes of universal domination. He even carried the system so far as to prohibit in every state in Germany the accustomed meetings of the *landstände**, or parliament, while he in-

* Out of appearance of respect to the ancient system, Buonaparte established in the constitution of Westphalia an annual assembly called the *Reitzende;* their power, however, was as nugatory as that of the senate at Paris or Milan: whether a law proposed by the government

vested the sovereigns with despotic power. He pursued the most obvious course of policy to serve his purpose, well calculating the difference of persuading a people, and cajoling or frightening their prince.

Had not indeed the war of this present year been made the war of the people, we might have anticipated probably a very different result from that which eventually succeeded. To consider this matter in another point of view; the steadiness with which the poisonous principles, disseminated by the French revolutionists, were universally rejected in Germany, where the tri-coloured flag, when hoisted, met only with outcry and execrations, is a circumstance that shews how far their natural temperament is of a description fit to be entrusted with the advantages of a well-regulated freedom; they are indeed a people both morally and physically ca-

was approved by the body or rejected, it was invariably carried into effect, after their prorogation, if it accorded with the wishes of the king.

pable of a moderation and a tranquillity unknown to any other country, and suited almost beyond any other for the enjoyment of such a government. Nor would the condition of society at large be less benefited by this alteration than the general health of the Germanic body. Although these are the last times in which hints should be thrown out against those prejudices of prescriptive rights that form the best safeguards of social order, yet it must be confessed, the rigid aristocratic ideas of Germany might be lowered, without proving detrimental either to one party or the other. The nobility are much too high, the other classes far too low. As to Prussia in particular, a stronger instance of the necessity of some relaxations on this head can scarcely be quoted than the conduct of Frederic II. who was a man possessed of the highest aristocratic principles. It is to him the country really owes the formation of an efficient *tiers état*, since before his reign the alienation of the landed pro-

perty of the nobility was not permitted by law, and the influence or consequence enjoyed by the inferior ranks was of course extremely limited. A change has therefore now for some years been introduced, and it would be prudent to accommodate the form of government to those new conditions of society which have arisen from this circumstance. But these are high topics, which we must leave to those who are engaged in more profound speculations, and pass on to objects that necessarily fall within the province of a traveller.

Sept. 13.—Our journey from Prentzlaw to Paisewalde, and to Anclam, was over a tract much resembling what we had before seen in our journey from Rostock. The towns were mostly surrounded with high, ruinous walls; and their houses and churches were antique structures of brick, the latter ornamented with profusion of carvework in the same material. Near to Anclam two sentry-boxes, a few yards distant from each other, painted with the co-

lours of their respective sovereigns, marked the line of the frontier: we passed from the black and white barrier to the blue and yellow, and entered the province of Swedish Pomerania.

The university of Griefswald was the first place we saw of note; here however we were in danger of being detained longer than its curiosities would have afforded food for our amusement. Some of the new Russian regiments, embodied from the German prisoners taken in the late campaign, had just disembarked; and from the number of horses they put in requisition, it was with much difficulty that we were provided for our next stage to Stralsund, whither we arrived, with tired and jaded cattle, at a late hour.

To our great delight we were challenged in our own vernacular tongue, and the gates of the garrison were speedily opened. We found the British troops were stationed here, whose passage through the Sound had so much alarmed the Danes, and

whose arrival on the Continent had excited so many conjectures. Their number however was not very considerable, amounting on the whole to not more than about 3,600 men; but they were full of life and spirit, and possessed of a well assured confidence in the character of their commander, Major-general Gibbs; he was the same gallant officer who stormed the Cornelius bastion at the capture of Batavia, and who so lately distinguished himself but too fatally in the unfortunate affair before New Orleans.

The appearance of an English parade was a splendid novelty at Stralsund, as striking in respect of dress and discipline, as in every other point of military show; the men, from the largeness of their pay, were looked upon by those engaged in foreign service as comparatively opulent personages; almost all sorts of liquor were within their reach, and their subsistence was provided at a much lower rate than the ordinary stoppage money at home amounted

to. Indeed an offer* made by some of the townspeople to furnish them on terms scarce equalling half the price at which the same might have been done in England, may serve to give an idea of the affluent condition of our soldiers when quartered in these parts.

The mode of maintaining a French garrison, to which the inhabitants had been long accustomed, is of another nature, and in fact completely supersedes the necessity of stipulation in such matters. Lodgings are of course provided, and with the ticket of billet is delivered a list of the articles that each householder provides gratis for his inmates, in which an increase is regularly made according to the rank of the claimant: their general amount may be guessed by the daily allowance which is specified in French and German measure, for the subsistence of each common soldier.

* They would have provided each man with three hot meals every day for an allowance of 2½d. at the same time receiving from him his rations.

	Bread.	Meat.	Rice or Pulse.	Salt.	Liquor per quart.
Onces	28	10	2	4	$\frac{1}{20}$ livre $\frac{1}{10}$ brandy, or $\frac{1}{15}$ vinegar, or $\frac{1}{4}$ beer.
Loths Pfund	28	20	4	8	$1\frac{1}{25}$

MM. les officiers jusqu'au grade de chef de bataillon ou d'escadron inclusivement auront place à la table de leurs hôtes, en donnant les rations qui leur seront fournies des magasins, s'il leur convient d'en profiter, dans le cas contraire, ils ne peuvent prétendre à aucune espèce d'indemnites. MM. les officiers du grade du colonel et au dessous vivront à leur fraix, conformément aux intentions de l'Empereur, dont on à donnè connaissance à l'armée, ils ne pourront exiger de leurs hôtes que le chauffage, l'éclairage & les utensiles de cuisine, linge, de table, &c. dont ils auront besoin. The officers of inferior rank, who have the right of boarding at the table of their landlord, generally too take care to order the dinner, and prescribe the number of dishes.

Nevertheless through their engaging manners they generally succeeded in finally

gaining the good will of the family they were quartered upon, however unwillingly they might at first have been received. It is astonishing indeed to hear the numerous advocates in favour of French politics, who have picked up their ideas from officers of the army during the time of their being thus domiciliated with them, and the prepossession that has from hence arisen in their favor.

It is not difficult to imagine the surprise that strangers expressed at the expensive nature of our English army establishment; so little sparing of money, and so independent in its principle.

When the Crown Prince was at Stralsund, he remarked to General Gibbs, among other particulars, his surprise at seeing the vast number of women who accompanied the troops, "Perhaps," said he, "near 200:" he was answered that about 300 half rations were daily served out as the allowance for them on the part of government. "What an expense!" exclaimed the prince;

"And how many females," he asked of his aid-de-camp, "have we with our Swedish "army?" "Only one, your royal highness," was the answer, "and she is a colonel's "lady." "What a marvellous expense! "What immense resources!" continued the prince: "but it must be remembered you "are the British nation." Though these forces were not destined to take a very active part in the war, they had been kept on the alert by the recent attempt of Davoust upon this part of the country. His advance had caused nearly the same sensations here as that of Oudinot had at Berlin, and the fears of the people were not a little increased by the sudden arrival of the Duke of Mecklenberg Schwerin, a fugitive from Dobberan, spreading consternation on every side. The merchants embarked their goods and valuables on board the vessels in the harbour; while others, still more terrified by persons interested in the outcry, sold all the moveable articles they possessed, in order to furnish themselves

with the necessary money for flight, and half ruined themselves by this useless precaution. Nevertheless, in the midst of this confusion, the citizens were not by any means wanting in display of a spirit suitable to the occasion: the *landsturm* of the district were instantly assembled and marched into the town; the citizens were mustered, and persons alike, of all ranks, joined in the common labours on the fortifications. The chevalier, with stars and crosses on his breast, and the pampered and wealthy burgomaster, were seen mixed indiscriminately with the poorest and meanest village peasants that were attached to this daily employment.

The alarm was fortunately not of long duration; General Vegesac, with a corps of 7000 men, stationed on the plains near Rostock, held the French completely in check, and, after a few affairs with the outposts, they suddenly retired. Had Stralsund been their object, one may, without hesitation, affirm that notwithstanding

the famous history of the siege of this city, where Charles XII. made so long a stand against the united forces of the allies, it is incapable of making any protracted defence under the present system of war. Seven insulated bastions are constructed round the body of the place, but its chief protection on the land side consists in the inundation of a small marsh, kept up by means of dams on the north and south; the works of offence, however, as well as the whole of the town, are commanded by the rising grounds on the west, lying within the distance of six or seven hundred yards, which are far too extensive to be occupied (with a view to defence) by any thing short of a powerful army. A parapet would have been thrown up in a single night sufficient to shelter the troops from an enemy's fire, but no exertion could possibly have saved the town. Should it have been held advisable to withdraw the forces, this measure was also provided for; a bridge of boats was established, reaching from the

main land to Dannenholm, (an island adjoining Rugen) and protected by a strong *tête du pont.* The access was not difficult, the passage being only a few hundred yards in length from the gates of Stralsund, and covered by the remains of some works which the French had formerly erected, apparently for the purpose of commanding certain situations under the heights where the batteries of a besieging corps might have been advantageously established.

It was from the north-west that Stralsund was attacked and carried by the allies in 1716; the relics of the fortifications of that date are few, though some remains may be still observed in detached parts on the side of the sea. The French, as might be expected by those who know their ingenuity in finding modes of raising money, had taken down and sold the greater part of the materials previous to their departure.

In one of our daily rambles we came upon the spot where the famous Schill was

murdered in 1809: one of the neighbouring inhabitants pointed out to us a cellar head that marked the place where he fell. It was at the junction of two narrow streets above the *Farn* Gate, at which place he left his followers on the point of embarkation; himself returning on some trifling errand, unaccompanied, into the town, but little anticipating the fate that awaited him. A party of Dutchmen, induced by the high reward which Buonaparte had offered for his head, seized this opportunity, surrounding and attacking him in a body. He defended himself, it seems, for some time with great courage, and at last dropped, pierced with upwards of eighteen gun-shot wounds. His mangled corpse was then carried to the hotel and exposed to public view, for the sake of identifying his person, that the reward might be adjudged to those concerned in the perpetration of the murder.

This deed, though unavenged, was not forgotten: a brother of the unfortunate hero, leagued with the sons of Palm, and

the nephews of Hofer, had raised a standard, round which numbers of injured patriots eagerly rallied, all united in one and the same feeling of personal enmity to the author of their wrongs. Their long unshorn beards, their lofty plumes, and their uniforms of black, were so many perpetual emblems as well of their grief, as of their deadly and implacable hatred; and they entered into an engagement, by oath, when first received into this body, neither to give nor receive quarter.

But the hope that the hour of retribution to this tyrant was now at hand seemed to be daily strengthened by the arrival of every fresh courier, and the tide of success rolled on. It was on the 23d we heard of the victory gained by General Walmoden, with the Anglo-Russian corps at Danneberg, cutting to pieces and dispersing a detachment of 10,000 men, who were on their way to join the French army at Dresden. The British 73d regiment, that had for some time before acted with this

division, had the good fortune to share the glory of the day. This continued series of triumphs on the part of the allies seemed daily to gain proselytes to their cause: still the feeling was not every where equally prevalent, and even at Stralsund, where the commercial interest might be supposed to have bred a contrary sentiment, there existed a party friendly in secret to the French cause. There were in fact no places without some few individuals who embraced this side, either regretting the loss of the power they had enjoyed under the former administration, or, as was the case with the mob, dazzled by the imposing style of French politics; for these had long been the ruling fashion, and were still ably maintained by the artifices of many ingenious and sophistical writers. I have frequently heard the more uninformed people, in the middling class of life, declaim strongly against the several prohibitions of the Berlin and Milan decrees, but at the same time attribute them, in the true whimsical spirit

of the French journalists, to the maritime oppression of the English, rather than to the ambitious schemes of France: it was they, forsooth, whose encroaching system made such acts necessary, while the French (poor innocents) were but the unwilling promulgators of a severe but salutary code of laws. It is fruitless to contend with prejudices that arise from interested motives, and needless to attempt the refutation of principles that must eventually find themselves their own corrective.

The port of Stralsund was now free from these restrictions, and wore the appearance of a considerable commercial depot. The articles with which the vessels were freighted consisted chiefly of colonial produce, for from the use of these the continent had been long debarred. On some goods of this sort immense profits were realised; coffee in particular has at times borne a charge of 500 or 600 per cent. But the sale of goods in general was now growing dull; the uncertain prospect of political

affairs had a very sensible influence on the market, and the whole of Germany, as yet liberated from French oppression, was fully supplied, at least to the extent they dared to receive.

The heavy exactions of the Prussian tariff imposed another check upon the activity of commerce; but great expectations were raised of opening a larger field for concerns of this nature, if the success of the campaign should deliver Leipsig from the hands of the enemy, before the annual meeting at the fair. As to the persons thus engaged, there were a few Russian merchants at Stralsund and some other foreigners, yet none seemed to equal, in any way, the quickness and skill of the English and Scotch in discovering a vent for their goods.

Sept. 27.—We set out for Bornhoft by land, in order to avoid the tediousness of a voyage up the Streights, intending to embark at that point on board the Swedish packet for Ystadt; nor had we reason to

repent of our plan, for the continuance of a south-east wind lowered the depth of the water to such a degree, that the vessel took ground more than once in the course of the day: even some of the hulks, which the French had formerly sunk with a view to obstruct the passage, shewed themselves in part above the surface, so astonishing was the diminution that had taken place in a few hours. A similar example of this phenomenon occasioned the loss of Stralsund to Charles XII.: but it is of very frequent occurrence in the narrow and obstructed seas of the Baltic, as well as the Adriatic, and, probably, other places similarly situated: it arises from the great accumulation of the waters under the operation of a wind blowing constantly from the same quarter; and in the present instance a change happening to the north-west, they were again raised three or four feet during the night. Unfortunately this point was an unfavourable one for our voyage, and a circumstance which, together with

the sluggish timidity of our captain, delayed us seven days off the coast. On the eighth, we finally set sail, to our great delight, for the coast of Sweden, and arrived at Ystadt on the following morning.

The sinking of the hulks above-mentioned was not the only measure which the French had taken to impede the passage of this streight to the British shipping; we saw also the remains of several batteries which they had erected on the coast for this end. As they took into their own hands, however, the administration of the government of Swedish Pomerania, this step cannot be viewed with surprise; but similar erections which we had before noticed on the coast of Mecklenburg were flagrant instances of their interference, in a part where they had not even a colourable pretence for the act. But I am quoting a fact by no means singular in their course of practice.

In a mineralogical point of view, the tract we had passed presented no great

varieties: it was a plain country, whose soil contained a large portion of a reddish-coloured sand, arising from the partial decomposition of those rocks which are now found scattered in loose fragments on its surface. These were large *boulder* stones of granite, or gneiss, intersected with veins of quartz, and of different sizes, from three to four tons weight to the size of an ordinary pebble, all of them partially rounded in their form.

The general face of this district bore a strong resemblance in these respects to the lowlands of the south of Sweden; it differed indeed only in displaying a more level surface, and in abounding more frequently with rivers and lakes. The soil of the valleys was blacker and richer where these appeared than in the uplands; and the same observation may be made of the nature of the soil of the island of Rugen, as well as of the coast of Pomerania, which grows less sandy on approaching the sea. The broken cliffs on the north of Rugen,

at Cape Jasmund, &c. are, however, of a white sand, lying under a thick crust of mould.

These heights were as a middle point, that seemed to carry on the idea of a connexion between the two long ranges of hills that appear in a direction north and south on the opposite coasts of Sweden and Germany. They may be traced in the former from the branches of a primitive formation, near the lake Wettern, to Ystadt, and are denominated the Linderöds Naen: in the latter there is a line similarly formed, and in like way scattered with *boulder* stones, which may be observed to rise at a short distance from the coast, whence they continue till they subside into the plains near Gransee.

The lime used at Berlin came from Rudersdorf; the coal, we were told, from Glogau, Schweidnitz, &c.

SECTION II.

SWEDEN.

Ystadt—Carlscrona—Arsenal, &c.—Calmar—Jonkoping—Linkoping—State of the Peasantry, &c.—Stockholm—Society, &c.—Commencement of Winter—Arts and Sciences — Agriculture — Trade — Currency—Criminal Execution—Swedish Character—Election of Bernadotte—Politics—Treaty of Kiel—Fête at Court—Vision of Charles XI.—Constitution of Sweden—Phenomena attending the severe Cold—Upsala University—Clergy, &c.—Swedenborg—Mine of Dannemora—Forges, &c.—Grisleham—Passage over the Gulf of Finland on the Ice—Telegraph—Mineralogical Sketch of Sweden.

THE short voyage we were about to make seemed scarcely to need the protection of a convoy; it was said, however, that the Danish island of Bornholm swarmed with pirates, and we were, therefore, escorted by a smart gun-brig, called the *Venta Littel**.

* Wait a little.

Her singular name consists of two words of the most frequent occurrence in the mouth of a Swede, as every traveller in that country must have experienced, and was given from the accidental expression of the late Gustavus IV. at her launch. He was not, it seems, quite prepared when the time of her quitting the stocks was announced: this phrase happening to escape him at the moment, the "king of dreams" seized the omen with a truly classical avidity—and the ship was christened accordingly. Our fellow passengers, during the voyage, consisted of a motley company: a Swedish major and family, a Westphalian merchant, a Gottenburg supercargo, two German and Swedish barons, a student of Schwerin, a British messenger, an English esquire, a Russian envoy, a Rostock burgomaster, a Scotch mercantile traveller, and a captive pirate, who was about to suffer judgment for his maraudi g expeditions off the coast, under the licence of the late French administration. We had an-

other prisoner on board, a French deserter, whose lank-worn looks bore testimony to the long course of suffering which he related, and but ill accorded with the feeble efforts of his innate cheerfulness and levity. Originally a conscript of the department of the Loire, he was marched to Russia in the campaign of 1812, and having survived the calamities of that memorable retreat, bivouacking on the snow, witnessing a thousand horrors, even the act of cannibalism itself, he arrived at Stettin, where, amidst a half-starved garrison, he underwent for several months all the privations that attended the protracted defence of that place. So familiar had he grown with misery, that he described his abode there as a season of comparative comfort and repose: his stomach, indeed, was become so habituated to fasting, that although he had not, he said, taken any food for near 40 hours before he was received in the packet, yet he felt no strong symptoms of pain or uneasiness, and eat what was given

him without betraying any signs of a voracious or ravenous appetite. The Crown Prince's proclamation, offering 200 francs and a settlement in Sweden to any French soldier who should desert, had induced him to quit the service, a step that he effected with great risque and difficulty. How far these expectations were afterwards realised I know not, but we left him in the clutches of the jailer at Ystadt.

The following day we pursued our journey northward, over a fine open tract of land covered with grain, but containing nothing to attract our attention, except a few solitary barrows on the road side, similar in shape to those we had before seen on the western coast near Halmstad. These are monuments of ages too rude to be borne in record on the lettered page of history; but their appearance, wheresoever in the world they are met with, on the Shannon or the Ohio, in the wilds of Mexico or of Siberia, never fails to create a feeling of interest and inquiry that would

gladly unravel the uncertainty of their story.

Oct. 4.—The fortress of Christianstad, our first station, was noted as the scene of the debut in arms of the great Gustavus Adolphus, who won it from the Danes at the early age of 16. Considerable fortifications are still remaining to mark its former importance, though probably of a later date than the reign of that monarch, and now in a very neglected state, the place being only guarded as a depot of arms.

On leaving the town and the marshy swamp that surrounds it, we passed from the southern lowlands to a new region. The country, gradually rising from the plain, assumed a more varied and pleasing form, adorned with hill and dale, and rocks and woods: numberless scattered fragments of stones, with the trees writhing from amidst their clefts, formed in places the most picturesque combinations: while time after time, as the carriage emerged from

the shade of the forest, the eye was cheered by the glitter of the sea inlets that intersected its borders. Amidst this beautiful scenery we were conducted to the romantic environs of Carlsham, a town which hung like a nest upon the cliffs.

As we entered its streets, we observed a more neat and flourishing appearance than could have been expected in so wild a quarter, which was owing chiefly to the temporary advantages thrown into the hands of the inhabitants by the French continental system. For not only Gottenburg and Malmö, but this port also, whose situation indeed was better adapted for the purpose, had become of late years an entrepot for British goods and colonial produce on their way to the continent. They were here reshipped, and exported as opportunity might serve, upon paying only the moderate duty *ad valarem* of one per cent. to the Swedish government. Fortunately for Europe, this state of things was now at an end, and we congratulated

ourselves on seeing the port of Carlsham nearly empty.

Oct. 6.—Carlscrona was the next town on our road: it occupies a cluster of small islands lying on the sea-coast; three of which, connected together by long wooden bridges, form the site of the town, the rest of the group serving for the erection of works of defence to protect the harbour. On some are built square castles of stone, well furnished with ordnance, and containing in the centre a lofty tower with two tier of embrasures: their appearance is formidable enough, though probably they are not capable of coping with the tremendous battery that a ship of the line would open against them: a similar mode of fortification, nevertheless, seems to have been formerly much in vogue on the coasts of Sweden and Finland. We observed examples of the same nature at Gottenburg, Bohus, Marstrand, as afterwards at Wiborg and other places; many of them are still maintained as fortresses.

The arsenal of Carlscrona is interesting as the chief naval depot of a power who so much distinguished herself during the first war of Finland, though it has happened of late years that she has had very little occasion for armaments by sea. At this time not more than six sail of the line were in port, and of those only one apparently ready for service; but, together with one ship on the stocks, and the Gustavus III. stationed off Helsinburg, they formed the total amount of Swedish shipping of that class.

Here is likewise a station for the flotilla, or *flotte de l'armée*, consisting of galleys, gun-boats, &c. for this branch of the service forms in Sweden a totally separate establishment from that of the navy. We were not, however, much interested in these matters. To strangers the objects chiefly pointed out to their notice are the covered docks, for which the place is celebrated; and having obtained permission of the port admiral, we proceeded to inspect them.

The first and original work consists of a

large bason excavated from the solid rock, and secured at the top by a roof resting on 12 square massive pillars. Surrounded as it is in the interior with steps rising one above the other like the *gradini* of an amphitheatre, and being of dimensions capable of receiving a second-rate ship of the line, it has an air of no ordinary grandeur: very different in effect from the appearance of the covered slips, of which so much boast is made, in the arsenal at Venice, that shew but as large wooden barns or granaries when compared with this magnificent edifice. At a little distance was a spot allotted for the erection of some new docks on a similar principle of construction: there was a large reservoir, around which ten of these buildings were to have been formed in masonry of granite: only five, however, were in any state of forwardness, and of these, two alone were covered in. It is not very likely that these works will be continued, at least by the present government; the only ship they contained had remained in its

unfinished state for many years, and was now rotting upon the stocks.

The want of the advantages to be derived from the alternate ebb and flow of the tide is, in some respects, attended with inconvenience on the coast of the Baltic; but an easy remedy is provided by an artificial rise and fall: for the reservoir, with which the docks communicate, is filled by sluices opening to the port, and emptied again at pleasure, the water being drawn off with a pump that acts by windmill sails.

Their machinery for stepping masts was made after the fashion of that in use at the East India docks in London. The model rooms contained some beautiful draughts and mouldings of the hulls of ships, which were chiefly also of English construction, with other miscellaneous articles, of more credit perhaps to Swedish ingenuity than of real practical utility.

It may not be amiss at this place to hazard a few remarks on a subject much canvassed by certain modern writers, the

supposed gradual subsidence of the Baltic sea. As far as I have been able to ascertain, this notion seems to have been founded on sundry local remarks made in detached situations, all of them capable of explanation from plain and natural circumstances, without having recourse to so monstrous a supposition. Either the encroachment of the coast upon the sea in some parts, by reason of new alluvial formations; or in others, the diminished depth of the soundings, on account of the accumulation of sand amidst the obstructions of a broken shore; or again, ancient memorials of those occasional phenomena that arise (as was before mentioned) from the long continuance of the wind in particular quarters, have furnished the groundwork of this fanciful theory; or indeed it may happen that some vestiges are traced of that great lake which, no doubt, once covered the countries bordering upon the Baltic before its waters forced themselves a passage to the German ocean. With regard to the fact of a gra-

dual and constant subsidence, it is to be objected that no complaint of a diminution of water in the port is heard at Carlscrona, although established as a naval arsenal in the reign of Charles XI.; nor indeed has any injury been sustained by the old dock, where a more particularly accurate observation must necessarily have been taken, and in which the alleged decrease of 40 inches in a century could not fail to have a sensible effect. But neither at any of the towns where the harbours are fenced by old piers has a want of water been experienced, unless from the ordinary deposition and laying up of the mud; nor in those where new works have been erected is any regard had in their plan to this supposed operation of nature, which, if it really took place, must inevitably unfit them in the lapse of a few years for the purposes they are intended to fulfil.—Enough, however, has been said of so visionary and chimerical an hypothesis.

Leaving Carlscrona, we made for Calmar,

another of those towns which was fortified during the Danish wars, and considered an important hold on the frontier of Sweden before the southern provinces were added to her dominions. A Swedish garrison has at the present day a slovenly appearance: the men slouching, negligent, and awkward; their clothes (for the frock of Charles XII. is disused) cut in a bad French style, and their accoutrements in very ordinary trim. The high yellow feather in their round hats is a whimsical addition to their figures; it is said to be the device of Gustavus Adolphus, who, observing his men had no cockades such as the other troops in Germany wore, ordered them to carry a wisp of straw in their caps by way of distinction: and it is but a few years back that one of the Swedish regiments of guards still bore the knot of straw when mustered on parade; it was neatly made up, and in the case of an officer, a tuft of yellow fringe with threads of silk was used in its stead.

Close on the beach stood the castle, a

venerable mansion that would have arrested our attention by its appearance, even were it not a place otherwise remarkable from the signature of a league celebrated in modern history; the room, though now used as a magazine, is yet shewn, where Margaret, the daughter of Waldemar, in the year 1397, A. D. concluded the union of the three kingdoms of the North.

The gold mine of Adelfors was on our road the second day after we left Calmar: notwithstanding its promising title, this property is but of little value to the owner, scarcely repaying the expense of working: only sixty or seventy ducats were the amount of the produce of last year. The precious metal is found in small grains, imbedded in a rock of mica slate, which is intersected by veins of quartz and pyritous matter; this stone being broken down and ground to powder, the gold is procured by the usual mode of washing, for which an ingenious apparatus was constructed on the spot.

Oct. 8.—This part of our journey was far from agreeable: the wretched cottages of the post-master afforded but poor accommodation; besides which, the heavy autumnal rains that had set in rendered travelling wearisome and tedious, by the gloom it cast on the scenery around. The country consisted chiefly of forests of fir, with large open spaces cleared out here and there by the fire of the husbandmen; its face was otherwise extremely monotonous, so much so, that however delighted with the first appearance, we now grew tired of its unvarying features, and the accustomed routine of wood, rock, and lake. At length on the morning of the third day after we quitted Calmar, at a sudden turn of the road, the lake Wettern broke in upon the horizon: a smooth expanse of water, with a long range of hills rising majestically over its borders. The view was magnificent and grand, and though, perhaps, chiefly meriting this character from its extent, yet so vast, that the eye felt no regret for the want of the inte-

resting and varied detail which forms the charm of landscape on a smaller scale. Just below our feet the scattered town of Jonköping shewed itself, stretching across the head of the lake, and appeared the only feature that relieved the natural wildness of the prospect.

The favourable impression its first glimpse had afforded was not lessened on our arrival within its precincts; we found a place decorated with numerous public buildings, as well as the mansions of many people of condition who were induced to settle here from the amenity of the situation. It is, in fact, a sort of metropolis for the south of Sweden, and is become, from its local advantages, not only the residence of the government of this province, but also the seat of the grand *parlement*, the high court of appeal from the lower Haräds or districts of the judicial circuits.

We rested ourselves a short time in this delightful abode, and thence pursued our road on the banks of the lake. Vadstena

bore formerly a name of greater importance than its present state seemed to indicate. We were shown with much veneration the palace of Gustavus Vasa, who frequently made this town the residence of his court. It now lay in a mouldering and neglected condition, only inhabited in obscure and detached parts by poor people, occupied in weaving damask linen, which is here the chief article of manufacture.

The air and character of the edifice is of a picturesque style, but, when examined minutely, exhibits all the incongruous deformities of the Gothic combined with the inelegance of misproportioned Grecian architecture, and bears the strongest resemblance to the mixed fashion of building in England, which was so prevalent during the 16th and 17th centuries.

We were surprised to fall in with two Scotchmen at the inn: they informed us they were employed under our countryman, Mr. Telford, to superintend the labourers on the East Gotha canal, which is entrusted

to his skill and management, and must be regarded as no small compliment, from a country so celebrated for her engineers. This work, when finished, will complete the chain of communication between the eastern and western shores of Sweden, taking a line through the lakes Wenner and Wettern to the Trolhättan canal, the same that we had seen in a former part of our journey.

The town of Linköping, our next stage, claims also its share of historical interest. It was here that Sigismund, who had been elected to the crown of Poland while hereditary Prince of Sweden, gained a victory over his uncle, Charles, the protector of the kingdom: the prejudices, however, he had shewn in favour of the Roman Catholic religion, entirely alienated the wishes of the nation from his cause; and even the success that attended his arms availed him but little. The Diet was afterwards convened in 1600 at this same place, where he had been saluted as conqueror, when he

was, by general consent, declared unfit to reign, and the crown settled, to the exclusion of the true line of descent, on Charles and his posterity. This memorable assertion of political rights is worthy of record in the annals of the liberty of the North, and a case to which a parallel may be easily found in the history of our own island. The cathedral of Linköping, a venerable witness of those days, is, perhaps, the finest ecclesiastical structure in the kingdom: but since it was rebuilt, after a conflagration, near four centuries ago, and probably originally designed by foreign architects, it can serve to throw very little light on the mysterious subject of the origin of pointed architecture.

In the library are preserved several curiosities, among which are some cups curiously wrought of wood thin as paper, and enclosed one within the other to the number of an hundred. These samples of ingenuity are from the lathe of no less a personage than General Steinbock, the hero of Helsinburg; who, after a long career of military glory,

was made prisoner at the capture of Toningen, and obliged to have recourse to these mechanical labours to soothe the tedium of his long confinement in a Danish prison; for (shame to an ungrateful nation) when the ransom demanded was only 9000 dollars, the gallant general passed the remainder of his life in captivity. Possibly some political reasons might be assigned to account for the fact; but Sweden was at that time exhausted by the expensive and ruinous wars of Charles XII., and impoverished to a degree that she has not even yet recovered. Without this additional cause of misfortune, the country labours under the pressure of a constant natural poverty, of which abundant proofs daily meet the eye; that are to be recognised in customs and usages, differing in many respects from those to be observed elsewhere, even in the common intercourse of life. One of the most obvious instances is seen in the singular footing on which the posts are established: we were surprised, at each station, by the different

description of people that presented themselves as our drivers; they were shoemakers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and sometimes even women: they were also, for the most part, we were informed, the proprietors of the horses themselves, which were collected in turn from the cottagers of the neighbourhood; one moiety of the charge alone being paid for their hire, and the rest defrayed by a rate upon the landed proprietors of the district. On this account, the small sum demanded for their hire places them, not in the light of a luxury for the use of the rich alone, but throws them within the reach of all classes of the community: the opulent baron, and the poor peasant, are seen posting on the road indiscriminately, habited in every variety of costume, and conveyed in every strange species of carriage, cart, or waggon.

Amongst a widely scattered population, whose condition is not able to support the establishment of regular public carriages, it is necessary to provide some cheap mode of

transport, and to facilitate as much as possible the communications of the country. The legislature, seeing this, have adopted a measure, perhaps not ill suited to circumstances, and have laid the burthen on those to whom the greatest benefit must immediately accrue; the Swedish seigneur is more than repaid, for the sum disbursed, by the increased value of every article that his estate produces.

The poor cottagers are not neglected by the government, in point of education, or in other respects sparingly supplied. Parochial schools are universally kept up, under the salutary provisions of a law of Gustavus III., at the expense of a light rate on the property of the wealthier inhabitants, and there are few among the peasants that are not able both to read and write. With regard to their maintenance, when in distress, a poor-house is supported in every parish, and to this benevolent purpose the funds, arising from the charity boxes for gratuitous donations, are in part destined;

but a portion of their receipts is also in some places given to a certain number of out-pensioners, as well as the inmates of the poor-house, who are portioned in four classes; the sick, the aged, those who have large families, and those who are helpless from their state of extreme poverty.

The honesty of the Swedes is as proverbial as that of the highlanders of Scotland, a nation whom they resemble in many particulars; neither are these charity boxes, though frequently placed in the most exposed situations on the road-side, ever fraudulently opened, nor is any other unguarded property, public or private, liable to depredation from the hand of the harmless rustic.

Of other moral qualities I cannot say how large the catalogue may be, but they indisputably possess in a high degree that feeling of rude pride, (I had almost said sulkiness) which distinguishes the manners of the lower class of people under a free government: occasionally, however, higher

traits of mind are displayed, and those of a nature to reflect infinite credit on the national character. Hokanson was a peasant of the province of Blekingen, which we had just passed through; his name for probity and honour had procured his return to eight successive meetings of the diet, in most of which he received the appointment of Orator or Speaker to his House. He was so greatly respected, and regarded with such favour, that the King Adolphus Frederic thought it proper to pay him a visit on travelling through the district, and even condescended to partake of his cottage cheer. He was much caressed also by the court, during his abode at Stockholm, and the Queen, amongst others who sent him gifts, presented him on one occasion with a very handsome robe of velvet. On the following day her Majesty happened to meet Hokanson in the streets, and seeing him in his usual dress, she asked, with an air of surprise, whether he had received her gift. "Yes," said he, (opening his coat and

exhibiting the velvet sown on the lining), "I hold it here next my heart; but no shew "of splendor or finery shall ever induce me "to forget my real situation, or to forego "the title in which I glory, of a free pea- "sant of Sweden."

The cottages in this country, as well as many larger houses, are built of logs of wood squared and neatly mortised at the coins; bearing a singular ornament (common also in parts of Germany) of horses heads cut in wood over the gable end. The whole is generally coloured for the purposes of preservation, as well as embellishment, with an artificial ochre, either red or yellow, which is procured from the metal founderies. The roofs are planked with fir, or, in those of better condition, covered with thin iron plates painted black. In the interior, the chief article of furniture is an iron or brick stove, which with fuel from the forest (a matter of small expense to the poorest person) affords a comfortable assurance against the rigours of the climate; it is lamentable

to add, however, that this method of warming their apartments frequently occasions the death of many of this class: being ignorant, or at least careless of the noxious effect of the vapor of the carbonic acid arising from wood in a state of ignition, they are apt, for the sake of warmth, to shut the damper that closes the chimney flue before it is burnt out, and the suffocation of all who may chance to be confined in the room inevitably ensues: many lives in Sweden are annually sacrificed by this pernicious practice.

The best conditioned, as well as the most wealthy and intelligent race of peasantry, are found in the provinces lying to the north of Stockholm: where in many districts there exists no class of great land-holders, but every individual is himself the proprietor and cultivator of a small plot of land. It is a singular state of society which is thus introduced by the infinite division and subdivision of the patrimonial inheritance, and I believe chiefly obtains in mountainous

countries, and which are well suited to pasturage: instances may be found in several other parts of Europe, particularly in the Tyrol, the Western Alps, the districts of the Pyrenees, &c. The tenure of farms or Hemmans in the country, in general, is of much the same nature as that before mentioned to have obtained in Germany; and since they are here a free people, the conditions cannot be very oppressive. There are no renters or farmers after our fashion, unless perhaps where the English agriculture has been adopted.

In such a wild and extensive region, the uncertainty of the limits, or marches, which may be assigned to any man's property, occasions the necessity of establishing a *corps topographique*, for the arbitration of all disputes on that score. Of this body, who are resident at Stockholm, I cannot refrain from remarking, that considering the accurate geographical information which must be in their possession, it is somewhat singular that no good maps of Sweden have ever

been published, from these sources, or under any authority from the government. The invaluable work of Baron Hermelin was the undertaking of an enlightened and public-spirited individual, who has exhausted the greatest part of his private fortune in a labour, that can only make him a return by name and reputation.

Oct. 14.—The town of Norrköping is intersected by the rocky streams of the Motala, which exhibit themselves in a thousand beautiful points of view. The place is built with neat red houses of wood, ranged in squares, owing their regularity, perhaps, to the frequency of conflagration, but indicating, by their present handsome appearance, the prosperity of the trade afforded from the situation of the place. It contains about 9,000 inhabitants, and may be said to be the fourth town of Sweden, in point of size.

The chief manufactory is one of broadcloth: some idea of the nature of its success may be drawn from the fact that their

finest black is offered for sale at the price of nine R. D. B. (27*s.*) per ell, (the measure being in breadth one yard, and in length three quarters of a yard English :) yet it is, as may be supposed, much inferior in quality to that imported from England. This branch, however, has met with as much encouragement and assistance as the circumstances of the country allow, and the native fleeces of Sweden have been greatly ameliorated by the spirited experiments of Herr Alsomer, about ninety years since. Notwithstanding the former fruitless attempts of Queen Christina, he succeeded, after many trials, in producing a mixed breed of sheep, whose wool, though not of the finest quality, yet was equal to that of a second sort in Spain. The Merino ewes that were imported died generally within a year after their arrival, being unable to support the severity of the climate; and their lambs, an ill-conditioned offspring, partaking of the weakness of their dams, survived in general only a short time: upon

this Alsomer changed his plan; and by breeding with Merino rams, from the native ewes of Sweden, effected the present improvement. It must be viewed, altogether, as a scheme that redounds greatly to the honour of the country, especially taking into consideration how early a period it was to originate speculations in this branch of agricultural economy.

Of other establishments at Norrköping, there is but one worthy of notice, which is a secular convent, for the education of the daughters of the nobility. A girl is here secure, under any circumstances, of a retreat and provision for life, on the stipulation of a small sum, which is paid at the time of her birth. She is permitted to frequent society at pleasure; and is only distinguished by wearing a particular dress, being of an azure colour, and of a neat and simple form. No forced rules compel the votaries of this Lutheran nunnery to a life of celibacy; they are at liberty to contract marriage at any time, only submitting their

choice to the approval of their superior, or priorinna.

The agriculture, in the country we passed, seemed in a very creditable state; and the land bore evident marks of an increased value as we approached the metropolis: the fields were in some places enclosed; their fences made of stakes of fir, driven into the ground in a slanting direction; a mode very common throughout the north of Europe. Besides this, surface drains were cut, their grounds well kept, and clean; and the rye was already appearing above the ridges. Tobacco we were told was one of the articles whose produce ensured the greatest pecuniary returns; we saw several fields that had been cultivated with this plant, and in this situation, so near to Stockholm, it is stated to yield near eight times the profit of any other crop: but its culture has not been long introduced, or very widely extended.

From Nyköping we made for Sodertellje; the last town on this long route, of

near 500 English miles, that we had traversed since our departure from Ystadt. Here we passed over the line of another canal, which is intended to form a communication between the southern coast of the Mæler and the Baltic sea, with a view of removing those obstacles which the difficulties of the narrow and winding passage of the entrance from the west present to the ready despatch of commercial business at the metropolis. A second cut connects these waters with Stromsholm, in the province of Westmanland, so that the projected alteration will be productive of double advantages. It must be confessed, indeed, that at the present day, a new era of exertion and improvement seems to dawn among the Swedes; and every effort is made to surmount those natural impediments, which have hitherto retarded their progress towards a higher state of national prosperity.

The visit of custom-house officers, with a tediously formal inspection of passports, are



the ordinary vexations which the ceremonious and rigid Swedes impose every where uopn a traveller; and nowhere more strictly, or pertinaciously, than at Stockholm: but since a resident citizen himself, when driving out for an airing, is subject to the same inconvenience, a stranger cannot fairly expect to escape unnoticed. After some delay with these troublesome inquisitors, we at length, however, entered the town, and found it a place which, though much spoken of by travellers, far exceeded in interest the utmost limits of our expectations.

Uniting every beauty of wild nature with the charms attendant upon the scenes of more active life; echoing the clamour of the bustling populace amidst rocks, that have not yet ceased to ring with the woodman's axe; rivalling at one display the boasted cliffs of Edinburgh, the broad lake of Geneva, and the streets and shipping of Venice; its view presents a romantic vision,

that scarcely even the highest powers of poetry itself could successfully delineate.

The examples of architecture within the town, if we except the mansions of the royal family, are not of a style at all corresponding with these delightful environs. The private houses make little show; and the general air of the public buildings is not of the first style of magnitude, or in any way remarkable for good taste. One point may be selected, that exhibits in a single prospect all that the capital can boast, of this description. There is a long bridge of granite, connecting the city in the centre with the northern quarters of the town: immediately at one extremity rises the Royal Palace, a large square edifice, with extensive wings, and of the most simple and elegant contour, built after a design by Count Tessin: the other extremity is terminated by an equestrian statue of Gustavus Adolphus, forming the chief object of a square, that is bounded, on the sides, by

handsome edifices of the Corinthian order; one the palace of the Princess Sophia, the other the Italian Opera-house.

At a little distance, a low portico obtrudes itself to notice, serving rather to disfigure than to ornament the view: it is no way worthy of mention, except on account of its singularly fantastic fashion and bad conception. One corner of the building of the Mint being bevelled off, a four-legged protuberance, of the Doric order, was affixed thereto, in conformity with the whimsical fancy of Gustavus III. who was misled by an unfortunate prepossession in favour of his own talents, as an architect. There certainly is not an instance in all London (and it is saying much) of a portico constructed with so little deference to correctness of judgment or true classical feeling.

But Swedish taste, in general, has its peculiarities, and of this ample specimens are seen in the houses, both in town and country: whatever their date may be, whether they are designed in the Grecian taste, the

Gothic or the mixed, the same air and character almost universally prevails: a meagre and hungry style, with small windows, puny decorations, niggardly proportions, and devoid of any attempt at relief in their parts: they look bare and naked, resembling rather the outlines of the drawing of an elevation, before it is filled up with shade, than a finished work. Such indeed may be said to be the general fashion of northern architecture, as contrasted with the bold and voluminous parts with which the luxuriant taste of the southern artist embellishes his work. I will not enter into the discussion of all those topics, which this subject might embrace; but suffice it to say that the different nature of the inconveniencies of climate in their respective situations has great influence both in one case and the other. An high pitched roof is necessary in a country subject to snow, while a flat projecting one affords to the inhabitants of a warm climate a protection from the heat of the morning, and becomes

a cool retreat during the hours of the evening: but these two features alone (though the idea may be farther extended) are sufficient to give a turn to national prepossessions on this head.

Whatever may be the cause, the nation is not now likely to be improved by many modern examples: they have wisely turned their attention to those matters of political economy, which ought, in the course of nature, at all times to precede the developement of taste in the fine arts. Unable to supply extravagance from their own resources, they have ceased also to seek the means from abroad; and the modern residences of the Swedish nobles are built with an appearance of far more honourable mediocrity than those that were erected in former days with the retaining fees of the intermeddling and officious agents of foreign powers. Several mansions of this latter description are yet left standing in the town; but they are considered as of a scale inconveniently large, and for

the greater part abandoned by their proprietors.

Nov. 1.—We were presented at court. The king appeared in an extremely feeble state; and when he had asked a few questions relative to the military operations of the Crown Prince, during the time we had stayed in Germany, we were dismissed from his presence. The chamber where he held his levee was the same in which his nephew, Gustavus IV., had but a few years before been placed under arrest by General Ardlercreutz; when all the ties existing between a people to their sovereign were, by one arbitrary act, in a single instant dissolved. Without stopping to dwell on the hackneyed topic of faded royalty, it must be confessed that a momentary reflection could not but come across the mind, on viewing the theatre of revolution in a country so subject to political change as Sweden; and a presentiment would occur of something that might befall hereafter.

We were received by the queen in the

chapel, after divine service. The mourning ordered in consequence of the death of the queen dowager threw an appearance of gloom over the court, which however was relieved at this juncture by the tidings received from the army in Germany. A courier had arrived in the morning, with the news of the great battle that had been fought at Leipsic, ending in the entire discomfiture of the army of Buonaparte. There seemed few exceptions to the general feeling of satisfaction which this intelligence diffused: though no one could venture to anticipate the glorious consequences to which such signal success eventually paved the way.

The account was not productive of less sincere joy in the city than in the palace. The orders issued for a general illumination were obeyed with alacrity, and preparations made that for such a place may be considered proud and sumptuous. Numerous were the transparencies exhibited in the streets, and fraught with divers allego-

rical ingenuities: Lernæan Hydras on the one side, and the Polar stars on the other, being among the most favourite emblems. A spectator was not dazzled by London magnificence, or elbowed by a noisy mob; but the deficiencies of the one and the absence of the other were both amply compensated by the peculiarities of the situation of this scene. It will be impossible ever to erase from my recollection the splendour which the fairy islands of Stockholm reflected on the lake below, or the romantic effects of the cannonade, pealing from rock to rock; while every object around seemed to accord in still but pleasing harmony. Over the face even of the people themselves one spirit of tranquil gladness seemed to prevail; and they viewed the various novelties presented to their eyes with a sober and almost phlegmatical complacency.

Early in the course of this month the severity of the cold began to be felt, and the natives shrouded themselves in their

first surtouts for the winter. There are certain pleasures, notwithstanding, that accompany this season. The preceding week had been productive of a vast quantity of snow, and fortunately (being the necessary conditions for good *trainage*) it had fallen on a ground already hardened by the frost. The atmosphere, disburdened of its load, immediately clears up, giving place to a settled state of weather. The sledges are brought out, the horses harnessed, and all the world, before sluggish and inactive, at once is set in motion. Figures innumerable are seen gliding over the white carpet of snow, with a pace so quick and yet so silent, that it appears to a stranger as an exhibition of enchantment. The cart of the peasant, the carriage of the noble, shoot by swift as lightning: you hear nothing but the safety bell*, which tinkles

* The proprietors of horses that traverse the streets are obliged by law, in order to prevent accidents, to affix a bell on their collars, as a warning of their approach; so soft is their tread on the beaten snow.

in your ear as it passes, and declines in the distance, before you have yet well recognized its sound. While the gladdening ray of a bright sun, and a sky perpetually serene, lend so pleasing a variety of colours to the view as to render a picture of Stockholm in the month of November one of the liveliest prospects in nature.

The gay season now commences, as the chief families arrive from the country to winter in the metropolis. Early hours are still preserved here in spite of French fashions, and a dinner at two o'clock, or a profuse supper at ten, are the usual offers of Swedish hospitality: but neither are the private parties frequent, or yet the public amusements very numerous. Of the latter an Italian opera-house, and a small Swedish theatre, alone, were open during our stay: for the company of French comedians, who had lately attracted much notice and approbation, had been dismissed by order of the Crown Prince. There were, however, several clubs and institutions to which we

had free access. The first of these, the Society, or Selskapet, was regulated on a plan similar to that of a club in London. The others were lodges, that held assemblies and balls at stated times; the Amaranth, the Innocence, the Narcissus, &c. The Amaranth is by far the most fashionable, and the best attended, and includes several associated establishments in the larger towns of Sweden. There was formerly an order of knighthood, instituted by Queen Christina, under this title, to perpetuate the memory of her lover, Pontus de la Gardie; but having afterwards fallen into disuse, it was nominally revived in this spurious shape about 70 years since by a private association. The ceremonials of inauguration are conducted with all the due forms of chivalry. On the ballot for a new member being declared, the elect is introduced by a lady, and a procession arrayed to the strains of solemn music: when this is concluded, she decorates him with the ribbon and insignia of the Amaranth,

and he receives on his shoulder the sword of the president, who is usually one of the first officers of the state. The grand cordons, and grand crosses and collars, are distributed in profusion—mock honours, that give, nevertheless, a strikingly gay air to the whole assembly. In the mids (not the least conspicuous) shone the *Marechals* of a late noble marriage, wearing, in similar knightly guise, the garters of the bride; which, according to custom, are the prize of those who light the bridegroom to his chamber on the nuptial night. But ceremonious decorations, so universal on the continent in general, are objects of a nature particularly captivating to the ostentatious mind of a Swede. At a meeting even of this description the full dress is ordinarily worn by all that are entitled to it; and exceptions can only be few, when the members of every rank and profession, from the highest civil officers of the crown to the Royal Academy of Artists, have their distinctive and appropriate uniform. The

citizens, too, have their regular gala habit; a Spanish cloak and hose of black, being the same in colour, and not differing much in shape from the common dress of the court. It is but fair to add that, among other accomplishments, the young of both sexes all dance extremely well, and in a style inferior perhaps only to the *beau monde* of Paris.

The real orders of knighthood in Sweden are four: the Seraphims, the Polar Star, the Sword, and the Gustavus Vasa. These are excellent rewards in the hands of a government that has not the means of recompensing merit by more substantial acts of compensation; but they are distributed somewhat lavishly here, and of the order of the Sword alone are inrolled more than 1000 Chevaliers.

Among the lower classes the first indication of the approach of winter gives them the hint to lay up their stock of eatables for the frozen market; the provisions lasting, in a congealed state, unhurt during the

whole season. They next pile their stocks of wood for firing, and light up the stove of their wooden cabin, that is never suffered to grow cool, or even to undergo ventilation, from this day till the arrival of the genial month of May.

One of the most pleasing sights of this time was the return of the seamen, discharged for the winter, to their *Bostellars*, or apportionments of land. We saw a division of them on their march, carrying their families, with all their little store, in light Swedish waggons from the port to their homes: here they were housed, each with his hut and plot of ground, in separate ranges according to the gradation of their respective ranks; the habitation of the commander of the ship's company being placed in the centre of the permanent encampment. It is a mode of provision peculiar, I believe, to Sweden; and was made, during a former reign, by the application of certain lands of the crown to this purpose. The advantages of this plan of maintenance

are extended to the army as well as the navy, for the regiments of provincial militia are all supported in the same way: and these (if we except the artillery, and a few regiments of guards), form, in fact, the only standing force of the country.

We dedicated a few days, while the weather was yet supportable, to the inspection of the curiosities of Stockholm and its environs. The royal palace does not contain many things which may be characterised as worthy of remark; still there are some good paintings, and a fine gallery of statues, chiefly antique, collected by the taste and munificence of Gustavus III. The Endymion is a *chef d'œuvre* of its kind. The Raphael china, or to speak more correctly Fayence-ware, is of infinite value, as the designs are after drawings by that master; but must be regarded a splendid example of genius and talent misapplied. The art of making this sort of pottery was in his day newly invented, and no pains were spared to add to its means of decoration.

Of the royal palaces in the neighbourhood, Drottningholm is the largest: it stands in a highly picturesque situation on the banks of the Mælar, and though not built in the first style of magnificence, yet fully answered the purpose of its erection, which was to exhaust the treasures of the mother of Charles XI., since it was feared by her advisers they might otherwise have been squandered in a less objectionable mode. The room where the late Gustavus Adolphus was confined, upon his removal by the conspirators from Stockholm, was shewn to us: he staid here no longer than one day, and was removed for the three succeeding months to Gripsholm, another royal seat on the Mælar, and about 20 miles distant from the capital.

This last castle has sometimes been not unaptly called "*La Maison de force des Rois de Suede:*" it was in former days the place of confinement of Eric XIV. and of John III., whose wretched cells in the round tower are now pointed out to the stranger.

That of the latter is a small apartment encircled by a second wall within the round tower; the brick flooring was half worn through by the constant tread of the royal prisoner in the only spot where the coincidence of the windows afforded a direct opening to the realms of day: and seemed, by this mark yet remaining, to bring all the irksomeness of captivity in the most forcible manner before our eyes. But his crimes merited (if possible) a more severe retribution, and this even from a brother's hand.

Haga is a small elegant pavilion, the favourite retreat of Gustavus III., situated within one mile of Stockholm, and surrounded, as is the general fashion, with gardens *à l'Anglaise*.

If it were needful, however, to enter into description, the arsenal, the depot of the trophies of the Swedish wars; the Maison des Nobles (House of Peers) filled with the escutcheons of all the first families of the country; or the royal cemetery in the Riddarholmen church, would afford ample

materials; but these may be considered as objects rather interesting personally to a traveller than as fit to be given in detail here.

To pass on to another point connected with the general spirit of improvement which we have already noticed, it may be worth while briefly to touch upon the state of the fine arts in this northern metropolis.

Music is by no means neglected, though very few of the old national airs are now to be met with. The comic opera of Frigga, and the collection of songs named Fredman's Epistlar, contain almost the only examples: for the generally prevailing taste for the Italian style has banished every other idea, and the native composers would be but little esteemed, if they did not conform to the fashion. It is to be lamented that they should not persevere in a line which might place higher attainments within their reach, as well as entitle them to greater claims of originality; instead of this, they yield to the seduction of a foreign style, meriting certainly its reputation from the high pitch of excellence

to which it has been advanced, yet which (it should at the same time be remembered) in point of exquisite feeling and high wrought melody, is never heard in full perfection unless on Italian ground.

As to painting, we must forbear to speak of those branches of art where the higher powers of genius are called for; but in such as are purely imitative in their nature, we must allow that the Swedes display no mean share of talent.

Falcrantz, as a painter of landscape, stands the first in reputation, and, indeed, may fairly be ranked among the best artists of the present day. He is almost self-taught, formed by a judicious course of observation, under the guidance of an excellent judgment and an accurate eye for colour. His principles of composition were chiefly gleaned from prints, and his fancy pictures shew a high degree of excellence in this particular: perhaps he is not quite so successful in the application of his rules to the combinations of real landscape; far however be it from any one

to detract by trivial points of criticism from the merits of a person that deserves so greatly the patronage of his country and the admiration of the art in general. It is to be hoped he will one day improve still more in technical knowledge, as well as enlarge the sphere of his acquaintance with the world by visiting those rare and precious collections that are now scattered throughout the cities of Europe, and which make foreign travelling, according to the present mode of study, so necessary a point of education to a painter.

It is not enough in modern days that a man should design and execute with taste and spirit; our ideas of excellence are formed on certain fixed models, and our prejudices are become by association so strong, that any recent production, whatever its intrinsic merit, is disregarded, if it does not savour in some respect of the style of the old masters. Nor is this a mere outcry of fashion, but a factitious feeling which has grown upon us by habit, till it has entirely overpowered the natural

bias of our minds. The arts, we say, are lost to our days;—that is, they have flourished in times past, and for this very reason they never will or can attain again the same degree of excellence. The great masters of the several old schools of painting have left nothing to their successors but imitation; and the necessity of following the beaten track lays a restraint on the efforts even of the most daring, and effectually suppresses the experimental ardour of native genius.

Raffaelle, Poussin, &c. it will be said, founded their notions on the works of others, and studied deeply the models of excellence which the ancients had left behind them. This is true; but these were chiefly examples of sculpture, a branch requiring a totally different application of talent; their style, therefore, did not partake of the nature of precise and mechanical imitation, but was rather formed by the deduction of certain general principles that developed themselves amidst the productions of their mighty predecessors, and

which a strong faculty of discrimination enabled them to bend and adapt to their own use.

In another point of view we ought not to regret that the art itself has arrived at this point of its progress; all the moral advantages held out from its study are to be gained by pursuing it under these circumstances: while its utility is finally more widely spread, because its exercise is more universally attainable; and it is with this view alone it can ever be successfully cultivated in Sweden.

The great works of genius are but the ornaments and decorations of the art in general, objects that give a grace and dignity to it abstractedly in itself; but to rival whose rank of excellence is by no means requisite at this day for the purposing of advancing the chief ends of its pursuit.

The collections of pictures in the country are not numerous; the only private ones of note are those of Count Brahe, the Baron de Geer, and Mr. de Wahrendorf;

so that, notwithstanding the liberal spirit with which these noble personages display their treasures, foreign travel becomes doubly necessary to a Swedish artist. The late king, whom some call *Gustaf Adolf den liten* (or Gustavus Adolphus the little) favoured Falcrantz with his advice on this point; and, in furtherance of his recommendation that he should make the grand tour of Europe, presented him with a donation from his royal purse, of a draft for no less a sum than 200 R. D. B., about 30*l.* sterling. We may hope that a provision more suitable to the purpose will be afforded by the Crown Prince, who is possessed of the same spirit of zealous admiration for the arts, which appeared to characterise all the members of the late French government.

Among the sculptors, the name of Sergel *(il Michel Ange du Nord)* has long been justly celebrated: his workshop abounds with models of beauty and grace, executed with a spirit of taste and fidelity that deserves the highest encomium. The

Cupid and Psyche, Mars and Venus, &c. are to be ranked among the most elegant examples of the *beau ideal:* but this is a lofty walk of art, and, I must confess, they seemed to me to lack something of the Promethean fire.

On the other hand, with regard to science, there is no country in Europe which, in proportion to her numbers, has contributed so largely to its advancement as Sweden, and none where it is still more steadily and successfully pursued. We met several most distinguished characters at the evening parties of Herr Edelcrantz*,

* Herr Edelcrantz was a native of Finland, much patronised by Gustavus III. to whom he owes his chief honours. He unites to his other accomplishments that of great mechanical ingenuity, of which we saw several specimens: he had made some improvements in the steam-engine: a second barometer, with a comparative scale, was added to the steam gauge, in order to shew the variation of the pressure of the atmosphere, which may, he discovered, affect the instrument of measure to the amount of one-seventh. He had also made a self-regulating door to confine the heat of the fire when increasing too fast. This steam engine was employed in working a corn-mill,

president of the Board of Commerce, whose house is the focus of literature at Stockholm.

An introduction to Professor Berzelius was not among the least of the advantages we owed to the president's kindness: he is a person well known in the annals of chemistry, and that has lately gained additional renown from his indefatigable researches in illustration of the theory of definite proportions. It would be presumptuous, however, to speak even in praise of the scientific acquirements of such a man. But I felt happy and proud to cultivate the acquaintance of one so

and there was no part but was converted to use in his admirable establishment: on mounting to the upper story we were shewn an ingenious apparatus for making pearl-barley; in another part was the chimney of the fire; within this was a machine for drying corn; an iron cylinder containing a spiral chamber, through which the grain was passed by a regular rotatory motion, and there subjected to the moderate action of the heat of the air in its passage upwards; a contrivance peculiarly adapted to this country, where the rainy season frequently sets in before the harvest is completed.

much beloved in general, and who proved as estimable in private life as respected in the world of letters.

At the same place we fell in with Professor Schwartz, a celebrated writer in the Flora Indiana Occidentalis, and were afterwards indebted to him for a sight of the Cabinet of Natural History. A general description of this collection would require the pen of a skilful naturalist; and as to the indigenous productions of Sweden, they have been already too well detailed in books of science to admit of the cursory observations of a traveller. It was impossible, however, not to be struck with a specimen that was pointed out to our notice of the food of the peasantry during a hard season in the more remote districts. It was a cake from Dalecarlia, made of the bark of trees: of this provender the birch is the most common in use, while that of the pine is held luxurious and dainty fare; but to procure a little rye-flour and add it to this wretched mixture, is an happiness that falls to the lot of few. The inner

bark or parenchyma is applied to this purpose; it is simply macerated in water, ground up, and formed into cakes of the consistence of a wafer; their taste is slightly bitter, but seemed, I thought, by no means less palatable than the coarse leaven bread of rye made with old sour yeast, which generally may be called the "staff of life" even throughout the more fertile parts of Sweden.

The use of so poor a diet in a climate that requires the most nutritious regimen is attended with its inconveniencies: the rustic peasants in general, though large and bony, are of a spare habit, and on the smallest alteration or improvement of their food are subjected to severe attacks of plethora. Many of these poor creatures do not survive their first visit to Stockholm, where, when they are ill of a surfeit, their disease is usually called the *Dalecarlian malady*, from its prevalence among that people: this complaint, indeed, seizes upon them in so great numbers, as to give

an idea to the vulgar of its being contagious, and one frequently hears, as the phrase is, that it is "going about."

A remarkable instance occurred in 1788, when the Jemtland regiment of militia was ordered to do duty in the capital: the men had not long been settled in their quarters before a violent mortality broke out, and increased to so alarming an extent, that inquiry became necessary. After due attention to the subject, a medical report was prepared, which attributed the mischief entirely to the nature of the soldiers' food; its quality, though they partook of no higher luxuries than wheaten bread and a little meat, was yet too strong and nutritious for stomachs accustomed to other fare, and a coarser aliment in consequence prescribed. An inferior bread was then baked for the regiment, adulterated to the requisite degree of meagerness and indigestibility, and a strict attention enforced to the poverty of the rest of their diet. Upon this the stomachs of that hardy race

soon regained their former tone; the number of deaths gradually diminished, and in a few weeks the sick list was entirely clear.

Although it is asserted that some years back a considerable export trade in grain was carried on from the ports of Sweden, yet their present growth falls far short of the ordinary demand of home consumption. Since, however, Esthonia, Livonia, and Finland, that were once her granaries, have been successively wrested from her grasp, necessity has turned the attention of the nation towards other sources of supply; and they have begun to learn that industry at home may not only afford them a compensation for their losses, but place their dependance on a footing less precarious, and more conducive in itself to the general prosperity of the country.

I inspected the rental of a well-managed estate not very distant from Stockholm, which then yielded more than double the amount of its produce in the year 1805;

though fewer labourers were stated to be employed in its cultivation. The agriculture was carried on in the English system, and much money had been laid out in its improvement; yet in no one year was a sum expended greater than its annual income. It is not meant to draw a general conclusion from a particular fact; but it is the opinion of those best informed on this subject, that if the present zeal for improvement* should continue, Sweden will be enabled in fifteen or twenty years to supply herself with grain from her own soil.

The crops within the last four years on an average, taken throughout Sweden,

* The farmers affirm that certain atmospherical changes have taken place of late years, and that they cannot depend on the same signs as indications of the weather, which formerly answered that purpose. The draining of land and clearing of forests has not been carried on to an extent that would warrant its being assumed as the cause: and it must be observed, that the Aurora Borealis, once so commonly seen in these parts, has not appeared here more than once in the last eight years: it is now, I believe, equally rare in the parallel latitudes of Scotland.

give a proportional improvement of 5·0, as may be seen by the table* annexed: a

*	Sq. Miles Swedish.	Population.	Proportion of those living in towns to those in the country, are as 10 to	Mortality, one in	Annual increase in 100 persons.	Cultivated ground to the waste as one to	Spans of seed sown.	Return in span-measure: each span being two bushels three quarts Eng.	Proportion for each person.	Increase of corn in four years.
Norrland	2061	159,100	240	47	1·5	915	49,683	245,998	1·2	4·9
Svealand	917·15	890,457	63	40	0·6	45	359,091	2,009,017	1·9	5·6
Götaland	807·6	1,364,583	116	40	0·7	20	731,791	3,204,184	1·9	4·5
Lakes	85·2									
Total .	3870·95	2,414,140	92	43	0·8	62	1,140,565	5,459,199	1·8	5·0

The above is taken from Akrell's survey, published in 1811.

further proof of what may be effected on a soil hitherto stigmatised as barren may be drawn from the fact, that in three of the provinces bordering on the metropolis, the additional stimulus afforded to the exertion of the husbandman has carried this increase to 6·2, and in some parts even 6·7.

Our next inquiry on this subject ought in due course to regard the number of inhabitants of the country; and we shall find, on inspection, it is not such as poets relate, "the populous teeming North once poured "from her frozen loins," but a meagre population, thinly scattered over an immeasurable tract of land. The difficulty of rearing children in a climate where the most robust alone can survive the tender years of infancy, in addition to the want of food, materially diminishes this source of national prosperity; and the augmentation is said to proceed only at the slow rate of 0·8 annually in every hundred, or eight persons for a thousand.

This circumstance does not pass un-

noticed by the celebrated author of the Essay on Population, and he informs us that it is because "the continual cry of the "(Swedish) government for an increase of "subjects tends to press the population too "hard against the limits of subsistence." He has stated indeed the number of deaths to bear a greater proportion to the living, than appears in Akrell's more accurate table: this, however, is of little moment; the evil may be found perhaps not to originate here, but in a more obvious and natural cause, the deficiency of the reproductive power. A large family is a matter of rare occurrence in the North. Animal as well as vegetable life lies half extinct under the rigour of a cold climate, while a contrary effect is observed in both instances in a tropical one. No direct or positive check is necessary; the powers of nature are here as there justly balanced and accommodated to each other; and it may safely be asserted that under no circumstances of encouragement whatever, though the means of sup-

port were multiplied to the utmost extent, could this country ever become greatly populous. With a view to increasing their numbers, he recommends the Swedes to augment the produce of their soil by following a better system of agriculture; and this has in many parts been effected, since the period of his visit. He is not equally judicious in all his remarks, and I should venture to say is perhaps too severe, in his censure of the Swedish government, for the erection of lying-in and foundling hospitals, which he says, by promoting vicious habits, in reality check, rather than assist the main-spring of population. The principle is in itself, no doubt, abstractedly true, and, in a state thronging with population, and abundant in vice, his proposition holds practically good; while where numbers are scarce and the inclination to vice consequently in less activity, it is to be premised that the very reverse, with regard to the increase of population at least, would take place. Sweden is not exactly in the

same state of advancement as the countries with which he is most conversant, and arguments that might be justly urged with regard to London or Paris may yet be inapplicable at Stockholm.

Mr. Malthus's great and important theory must be considered as an outline that is to be perfected and filled up hereafter: its primary principles are no more to be reasoned upon with a view to practical purposes in detail, than the naked theorems of mechanics or any other branch of mathematical science are to be acted upon as producing the same result in theory and experiment. The accompaniment of circumstances, the intervention of second causes, must never be neglected in the calculation of one case more than the other; and if all the fundamental doctrines of the Essay on Population were to be considered and modified with this aim, it would put a stop to the frequent citation of crude and undigested arguments that the half-learned daily bring forward from a treatise, which

was intended by its author, no doubt, for far other and more noble purposes.

The Board of Agriculture, of which the Crown Prince is president, has applied itself with great assiduity, inciting as well as directing the labours of the husbandman, and making the occupation of farming not a pleasure alone, but gilding it with the name of a fashionable recreation in the eyes of the wealthier classes of society. The attention of his royal highness was at an early period called to this subject: he had witnessed a very severe year of scarcity during his abode in Sweden, and to alleviate its immediate pressure, had been induced to expend the greater part of his private fortune in the purchase of foreign corn. Nor was this all; he became provident as well as liberal amidst the urgency and distress of that necessitous period, and applied himself to draw schemes of improvement for the future. "Born in the camp," said he in his speech to the board, "I yet know well how to appre-

"ciate the art of agriculture and the toil "of the husbandman.—Sweden has an "extent equal to that of old France, though "she possesses not more than a tenth part "of her population. To the labours of "cultivation, therefore, must our exertions "continually be directed. With the brave "Swedes, my companions in arms, you "shall be protected from every foreign "enemy, while the fruits of the harvest "shall be gathered in security and tran-"quillity."

It was one proof of his earnest attention to these concerns, that at the conference at Abo he procured a promise from the emperor of Russia of some select stallions, from the different breeds of horses, which are scattered in the provinces of that empire: the stud, about 60 in number, arrived in the course of this month at Stockholm, all of which were intended to be distributed as presents to gentlemen residing in the country, on condition of their affording certain accommodation to their neigh-

bours. They were of a shewy exterior, and beautiful contour, probably not ill-suited to cross with the native Swedes, which are clever active horses, their loins strong, their limbs well knit, but though possessing many excellent points, yet small in stature, and without any pretension to elegance of figure.

In considering the value of landed property, the exportable produce, that in many cases forms nearly the whole revenue, must not be omitted. Those who go by the name of merchants at Stockholm are in fact only commissioners or agents in a concern where the landholders themselves are the *bonâ fide* dealers. It is a wholesale traffic that is carried on. They send out timber, pitch, copper, pig iron, &c. and only very few wrought articles, except pieces of heavy ordnance, sheet-anchors, or things of that nature. Manufactories, as has been before said, cannot, in the present state of Sweden, flourish to any great degree. They are insufficient in number

and activity to be able to meet the demand at home, and utterly unfit, in point of the quality of their goods, to stand any competition with those from abroad. It is singular that the making up pig iron 'notwithstanding the numerous mines that had so long been worked in Sweden' was not practised until the sixteenth century; the ore being constantly exported to Germany, and returned in the shape of metal: from which circumstance we should be inclined to draw an inference somewhat unfavourable to the general encouragement of manufacturing establishments in this country.

The adoption of strict regulations at the custom-house is in some sort necessary, under the prevalent European system of commercial jealousy: but by prohibiting, in one sweeping clause as it does, the introduction of new-made articles, the government holds out too great a stimulus to the activity of the smuggler, and in the end cheats itself of one of the most productive

branches of revenue: for, in spite of the laws, English articles of every description are to be found in every shop at the capital; where a certain enhancement in price, from the increased difficulty of importation, is the only effect produced.

When the call for foreign articles is so great, and the objects of export so few, it must appear singular to be told, in the official reports, that the balance of trade is in favour of Sweden: but such an assertion is no novelty. Almost every nation publicly notifies the same result of their annual examinations: so that one would be inclined to believe all the world were gainers alike. The fallacy (as far as it is one) arises, not only from the incorrect statements of the custom-house, which fall short from the above-mentioned evasions, but from a confusion of the nominal prices of foreign articles here with those they bear in the country from whence they come. But that the balance of exports and imports is against Sweden may certainly be inferred

from the fact of the paper notes having so long continued to be her only medium of exchange.

The apparently high value of money in Sweden is a matter of great importance to her, as an improving nation; especially with regard to the encouragement of her export trade, since she can afford to sell her deals, iron, &c. at a lower price to the foreign merchant, than under other circumstances: but at the same time it affords us a secure criterion of her actual poverty. We see that every article of life is cheap, and that the private fortunes of individuals are at a low estimation, in comparison with their average amount in the rest of Europe. 70,000 R. D. B. (or 10,000*l.*) is reported to be the income of the first landed proprietor in Sweden*: and there is scarcely an instance of a much larger annual profit being realised in trade.

* The private income allowed to the King by an act of the diet in 1818, since the accession of Bernadotte, is 320,000 R. D. B. or about 48,000*l.* sterling.

Being engaged, however, in a question of this sort, it is fair to add that the prices of articles have risen very much of late, and in a greater proportion than any temporary depreciation of the paper money can serve to account for. The increase of the price of one *tunna** of grain in two years, taken at an interval of six, was as follows.

	Rye.		Barley.	
	R. D. B.	Sch.	R. D. B.	Sch.
1805	4	36	3	28
1811	8	12	6	4

But on taking the average crops for the last ten years, the increase† of prices ap-

* The capacity of the tunna has been mistaken by a late learned traveller in Sweden; it equals four bushels five quarts Winchester measure.

† I have seen a table, comparing the prices of corn in different years, between the London and Stockholm markets, with the medium of the Hamburg exchange: it is singular that they varied nearly in corresponding proportions.

Rate of exchange, Jan. 7, 1814.

	R. D. B.	Sch.		
London	7	40	for	£1
Petersburg		20	for	1 rouble paper.

pears to have been progressive in a ratio of four to nine, and the scale of things, in general, has been similarly enhanced. We must congratulate the country, I believe, on this sign of increasing wealth.

Increase of prices in a domestic view generally argues a greater abundance of money, (at least with an healthy medium of circulation) and is felt injuriously only by a few individuals because the advance of receipts is not in all lines and professions alike regular and uniform: but the disadvantages of the few are more than counterbalanced, with regard to the interest of the state, by the enrichment of *the many*, and these matters in a short time adjust themselves to a proper level. In a con-

Prices of articles.

	R. D. B. Sch.		s.	d.
Day labour	32	=	2	0
Fuel for fire for a week	32	=	2	0
Hot meats, each plate	8	=	0	4
Bourdeaux wine	2 24	=	4	6

Landed estate of 10,000 acres near Helsinburg, valued at 60,000l. sterling.

trary state of affairs, where prices keep on the decline, the public wealth is nominally diminished, and individuals may measure one against the other as before, but it is then only a balance of distress. In either case setting out from a fixed point, industry will be found to be encouraged or checked, according as more or less money is promised as its recompense: and national wealth rises or falls by the action of the increase or decrease, not by the quantum of the currency itself. To be in the ascending scale therefore is to flourish; to be stationary is to retrograde; and to fall in prices is *temporary* ruin.

Of another circumstance, nevertheless, the possession of an inconvertible medium of circulation, which many writers hail with the same tone of exultation, I may at least venture to say, that it is a more equivocal symptom of prosperity, but one which has long ago made its appearance in Sweden: nor have its consequences been always of a beneficial nature.

The first paper note for general circulation bears the date of 1717, being stamped in the reign of Charles XII.; though it was not till the year 1789, upon the embarrassments succeeding the first war of Finland, that gold and silver began to grow really scarce; and some years after that time, the continued demand for specie, which was created throughout Europe, entirely exhausted the remaining stock.—This took place much about the same period that guineas were discovered in England to be "an unnecessary incumbrance:" the system, however, is more perfect here, for literally nothing but the base metal copper is ever seen in circulation. It is worthy of remark, that the golden ducat, bearing the king's stamp, may be purchased at the Bank for the market price of gold, because silver, as was before stated, is the standard of the currency* fixed by law. But I must

* The paper in circulation has since this period been rapidly increased: its amount in 1817 was 30,000,000, being more than double its amount in 1802; and public

add, that the credit of their paper money was not at this time suspected, though appearing to have suffered a depreciation in common with that which was general throughout Europe, arising from the increased demand for the precious metals; and in consequence of this, certain restrictions were laid down by government, which prevented the Bank from answering calls for payment in cash. The national establishment is a Bank of deposit, founded in 1657, upon the plan of Palmstruck, a Livonian: it is connected with the government in some sort, being placed under the superintendance of all the estates of the realm, except that of the peasants, who formally refused to participate in the charge. Their issues are made upon certain depositable securities, such as iron, timber, goods, &c.; houses and land are

credit of course has greatly suffered: the Crown Prince, however, has adopted various schemes of retrenchment and economy; and though his commercial regulations may not be judicious, there are some other parts of his plan that cannot fail of success.

by their rules never to be accepted, since, if seized in case of default, the return is too slow to admit a sufficient profit to be realized upon them. There is an office also where bills are discounted, in which some of the managers of the Bank have the chief share; but as more risk is incurred, it is a distinct concern, and constitutes no part of the national establishment.

It was not without some feeling of surprise, that an Englishman at Stockholm listened to a conversation upon detail points of political matter, and especially such as now occurred: the restrictions of the Bank, the daily increasing prices of things, the exclusion of Roman Catholics from a seat in the Diet, or the severity of the penal code. They were not made the subject of speculation in a review or a gazette; they were not hawked about by loungers in the streets, or commented upon by the clamorous orators of an evening forum. Nevertheless, these topics were

occasionally brought on the table, and always treated with that dignity and decorum, which those who are really interested in their subject can never cease to feel. The three former exist, in fact, beyond a doubt; but as to any complaint on the last mentioned circumstance, whatever may be the literal ordinance of the law, its practical severity is little or none: and the necessary arbitrary power, which is intrusted to their judicial magistrates, is administered (it is impossible to say more) as in England itself.

The modes of punishment, decreed by law, differ from those in use with us: for a common misdemeanour, the offender is mounted astride a wooden horse, and exposed to the derision of the populace; formerly with a pair of heavy weights attached to his legs, like the punishment some years ago discarded from our regiments of dragoons. For petty offences, public whipping with rods at the Treska, or public place of shame, is awarded to either sex

indiscriminately. For robbery on the highway, or for house-breaking, the culprits are sentenced to be hung; and in case of murder they are always beheaded. The right, however, of making three separate appeals to the superior courts, which is granted in civil causes, is extended also to the criminal; and what may be reckoned a still more extraordinary provision, no man can suffer death according to his sentence, until he has made an actual confession of his crime. This apparent act of lenity had its origin in a most unmerciful custom, for torture was anciently employed to extort the necessary avowal, and Gustavus III. having abolished that iniquitous practice, the remaining clauses of the law were left, as I conjecture, unaltered.

Nov. 17.—The example of an execution, when after some weeks the necessary admission of the crime had been made, happened to take place in the month of November. The offender was an Italian, who murdered his companion, in consequence

of a violent quarrel at cards: he had repeated the blow five and twenty times, following his unfortunate victim from room to room, and therefore no plea of sudden passion was admissible in mitigation. It was two years since the spectacle of such a punishment had been witnessed at Stockholm, and on the appointed morning an immense crowd was assembled, notwithstanding the extreme rigour* of the season. Two file of armed soldiers (from the regiment of police) with their officer, who superintended the execution, were stationed in attendance at the prison door; for such is the fashion of the country. However enormous the custom may seem in the eyes of an Englishman, the same must be said to be the practice of all European nations, I believe, except ourselves: those delicacies of British liberty, that forbid the agency of the military to put in force the awards of the civil power, are not points

* The mercury stood at — 17° Celsius, or + 2 Fahrenheit.

intelligible to the patriotic sensibility of any but our own countrymen.

But to return to my story.—At nine o'clock the gates were unbarred, and the culprit walked forth with a crucifix and beads in his hand, (for he was a papist) accompanied by a French priest: the procession, moving slowly up the street, passed the *Stadt Huset* or town house, where a glass of wine was presented him, according to ancient custom: some support, indeed, seemed necessary, as the distance from the prison to his place of destination was upwards of two English miles. In about half an hour's time the fatal spot appeared: in the middle of a spacious amphitheatre of rocks, which was crowded with spectators, stood a low circular tower, surmounted with a triple gallows; below was a wooden scaffold with a few fir boughs scattered about, encircled by a range of soldiers. When arrived within this ring, he cast a look around, and for a moment fixed his eyes on the block: the priest

recalled his thoughts that seemed to wander, and holding up the cross, besought him with earnestness to join with him in prayer; he did so: he next received the absolution from his hands, again confessing his guilt, and expressing a hope that his voluntary submission to punishment might be accepted, in some degree, as an atonement for the crime he had committed. A little chorus of Catholic orphans, whom the Abbé had brought up, kneeling around him, now commenced the chant of a solemn and sacred hymn.—"*Allons dépechons,*" said the police officer, with a fierceness that disgraced humanity—"We have no time to lose."—The man of authority was obeyed—the hymn ceased; and the unfortunate offender instantly undressed. He laid aside his neckcloth and tied a bandage round his eyes with a firm hand. —"Now," said he, "I am ready, lead on:" he marched steadily forward and mounted the scaffold—All was silence—"Stay awhile, "let me pray alone:"—He knelt down and

stretched forth his hands for a few seconds to heaven, then clasping them over his head, threw himself on the fatal billet: at that instant the axe fell; but the blow was ill directed, and the body shrunk back: again the axe was reared in the air covered with gore—and yet a third time. A scene like this is too horrible a piece of butchery to admit of description: even Swedish phlegm was moved to murmur at the sight.

The just discrimination of national character is a task of infinite difficulty; it is denied to the native from prejudice, to the resident from too great familiarity, to the visitor from too little means of observation; it is imperious, therefore, on every one to contribute whatsoever he may be able towards the illustration of such a point, and to leave it to those persons who may succeed better in forming abstract views on the subject.

The Swedes have their singularities: and if, as philosophers tell us, the chill of a

northern climate tinges the minds and manners of the inhabitants with an unimpassioned species of reserve, it is certain that there exists something of a reciprocity between the moral and physical constitution of this country. Rigidly ceremonious, they make their stiff and measured courtesies the essentials rather than the forms of life, and seem, in a stranger's eye, a people cold in their nature as the very snows they dwell upon. Their characteristics, a passive courage not unmixed with indolence; a pride, not free from ignorance; a disposition, that is not ill-humoured from having no humour at all, from indifference —from apathy.

But a Swede is never in extremes: even these traits are not deeply marked, and if we review the more favourable side of his character, we shall find in him an undaunted spirit of perseverance, and an honest love of freedom, to which the feelings of every one does homage; and I may truly affirm that no traveller passes from

their shores but he quits them with regret, and ever afterwards takes the strongest interest in whatever tidings he may hear that concerns the welfare of the nation. In the higher classes the mind is necessarily tempered by the grace and fashion of society, and there are many whom private sentiments of respect would lead me at all times to acknowledge with warm expressions of gratitude, and to recall with peculiar pleasure many a happy hour I have spent at Stockholm.

But we must not look for traces of national character in assemblies of this description; it is rather among the middle and inferior ranks that we see the "mirror held up to nature." The members of polished society throughout Europe are, in all essential points, nearly alike in manner, in sentiment, in morals; save only that some allowances should be made for the different temperament produced by the influence of a voluptuous southern climate.

The people of this country are however chiefly to be blamed for disregarding the distinction on this last-mentioned subject, which nature herself seems to point out. They aim at the imitation of a peculiar style of refinement, which is not congenial to their constitution. French or Italian manners and customs are introduced to the drawing-room, and even to the nursery; and fictitious habits are formed long before they are understood. So far was the principle of schooling carried, that previous to the French revolution, a Swedish regiment was constantly maintained at a large expense in the French capital, whence they returned to Stockholm with a large assortment of phrases and forms of courtesy, and a fashionable expansion of their ideas.

But if this people must imitate, they should seek examples better suited to their nature; morality and manners are soon confounded; and the introduction of such as the above is an engrafting of incom-

patibles, that must produce only the cold debauchery and deadly poison of viciousness, without engendering that lively feeling and open generosity of sentiment which tempers vice itself with at least a palliative, and perhaps a corrective power.

For a further illustration of character, it is fair to recur to the developement of public sentiment which is manifested on great occasions; and look to historical facts in support of the argument. We shall observe then, on pursuing this notion, that in spite of their cold-blooded obduracy, or perhaps arising from this very cause, a turn of mind of the most sanguinary nature was always predominant here. There was a *précis* of the Swedish annals lately published, whose title was not ill imagined, "*Swenska Konungars olycks Oden,*" (Calamities arrive to the kings of Sweden); and it must be confessed, it contains a catalogue of horrors beyond compare: few were the monarchs of this country that were not either killed or forcibly dethroned;

and since the two last reigns have afforded each an example of its kind, one must be permitted to hope that their names will close the list.

The story of a recent murder might be added (not indeed of one possessing royal dignity) but who merited a rank among the first of his country for birth, for talents, and for rare accomplishments. The assassination of Count Fersen, both from its manner and nature, is an act that would stain the foulest page of history.

It was on the occasion of the sudden death of Prince Augustenberg, the late Crown Prince, that a thousand rumours and conjectures arose on the cause of so unexpected a catastrophe. A physician was in consequence sent into Schonen, where the accident happened, in order to examine his body. But upon his arrival there, he found an inspection had already taken place by some of the faculty from Lund, and the contents of the stomach were unfortunately thrown away. The

official paper, therefore, stated his full confidence in the relation which had been made to him, but that he could not sanction the report with his name.

Murmurs in the mean time daily grew more loud and violent at the capital; suspicions that are not even yet forgotten were attached to those whose rank and eminence alone made them obnoxious to attack. The unfortunate nobleman abovementioned, his sister Countess Piper, and even the queen herself, became the objects of execration with the ignorant and misguided multitude.

The friends of Fersen, aware of the state of the public mind, repeatedly admonished him to avoid appearing in public, but their advice was unavailing: presuming on the consciousness of his innocence, he resolved not to neglect his last duty to the remains of the prince, and took his place accordingly in the funeral procession as it entered the streets of Stockholm. For some time they went on quietly:

no disposition to riot was any where displayed until the hearse reached the Maison des Nobles, when, as if on a sudden, a party from amidst the crowd of spectators rushed upon the count and dragged him from his horse; sticks, umbrellas, and whatever other articles were at hand, were converted by their fury into weapons of assassination; and in one short half hour he was no more. Singular to relate, all this passed without interruption, at an early hour in the evening: the guard was on duty at the palace; the police-office hard by; the intended murder had been publicly talked of, and when actually committed, every one seemed amazed and astonished: but no one was punished, or was any inquiry made; all that is said is, that some people of a decent condition of life were supposed to be concerned in the perpetration of the bloody deed.

It might be added, that the same notoriety as to the intentions of the conspirators preceded the assassination of

Gustavus the third: the time, the place, all was known and made the subject of conversation at Stockholm. The king himself, who thought to overawe the conspirators by boldly facing their treasonous attempts, was aware also of all these circumstances.

The plot carried on against the late king, Gustavus Adolphus, was in like manner made public beforehand, but his acts of folly had justly excited the general execration against him; still it is surprising that greater secrecy should not have been requisite for the execution of a plot against the sovereign. Except the quiet substitution of one emperor or empress for another, which sometimes has occurred at Petersburg, I know of nothing parallel in history: in Russia however the people are not parties concerned, the affair resembles the transfer of a private right; here the case is different, and admits of no excuse for such insensibility.

The ordinary vehicles of public feeling,

newspapers, reviews, gazettes, &c. have in a country like this a very limited circulation, and as the interest excited in such matters is proportionably small. The parties immediately interested alone are actors in these conspiracies: if any other stir is made on any side, it is only to be viewed as a proof that public irritation may burst out on occasion even where national sentiment in one sense of the word seems scarce to have existence.

But it is time to return to that point of our story relative to late events which gave occasion to this digression. Prince Augustenburg being deceased, a diet was immediately ordered to be convened for the purpose of electing a successor, and public attention was turned to the great duty that had devolved to their charge. The remembrance of the former glory of Sweden, the sense of their recent misfortunes, and the threatening situation which Russia held from the possession of Finland, made the more thinking part of

the nation unanimous in the wish to select a man of military talents. It was natural at that epoch, therefore, to turn their eyes towards France. The French officers were for the most part in disrepute with the world from the tyranny which they had exercised, and seemed but ill qualified to discharge the paternal duties of a king; but it so happened that Bernadotte's mild administration of the district entrusted to his charge in the North of Germany, together with his consequent removal from that command for his lenity and humanity, had become lately a general subject of encomium. Bernadotte, moreover, had been personally made known to General Essen, General Wrede, and many other Swedish officers of distinction, at the time of the capture of Lubec in the Prussian war. He had exerted his influence with Buonaparte to procure an armistice for the troops whom the late king's folly had exposed to so great difficulties; and every individual concerned felt grateful for his

friendly zeal. Thus far he was befriended by a happy concurrence of circumstances; but it still remained, for those who wished him well here, to interest the people in his behalf; and they too had heard of his name, and that coupled with military character and renown.

The project of proposing him for the vacant dignity was first only canvassed among a small party, including the above personages; but they afterwards opened a correspondence on the subject with some young Swedes who chanced to be resident in Paris, and while as yet the scheme was in embryo, the young Count Mörner waited on Bernadotte in person, and made him acquainted with the wishes of his friends. He received such an answer as might have been expected, and the party at Stockholm being apprised of his concurrence, redoubled their exertions.

National animosity against the Danes, as well as the disadvantageous competition of personal merit, made the cause of

the Prince of Denmark daily grow unpopular, and the officious zeal of his emissaries served only to promote the cause of Bernadotte. In short, by the time that the Diet assembled, the House of Nobles were found to be almost wholly gained over to his side, though much uncertainty prevailed as to the feelings of the three other houses. To prevent any disturbance, therefore, in case of an equal division of the four, several precautionary steps were adopted; and a committee of sixteen was delegated from each, with whom it was settled the final decision should rest. It was much to be wished that recourse to this measure should not be rendered necessary: a question of such importance ought to be carried by the full concurrence of the assembly; and to compass that end, every spring was set in motion. At length the day of election arrived. The nobles, conscious of their secret agency, were unwilling to be the first to declare their voice in public: they protracted their debate

for upwards of an hour with much feigned earnestness, when, to their inexpressible delight, a deputy arrived from the House of Peasants, to inform them that their choice had fallen on Bernadotte: soon afterwards the House of the Clergy and that of the Burghers followed with acclamations; the Nobles closed the scene. The election was then publicly proclaimed, and a courier instantly despatched to carry the intelligence to France.

It may here be fairly asked whether Buonaparte had any influence in the decision of this election: the story above recited is sufficient to induce one to suppose him unconnected with any part of the transaction.

In addition to this, one might venture to assert, that having incurred Buonaparte's displeasure at Wagram, and been since left unemployed, he was the last person on whom the king-maker would willingly have wished to confer this dignity. He had subsequently been in command at

Antwerp; but it was the act of a volunteer, happening to be resident at Paris when the news arrived of the landing of the English in Holland; and even there he was soon superseded.

It was a French faction that introduced him to Sweden, no doubt, as the higher classes are generally known to possess a strong attachment to that nation; but the party was totally uninfluenced by the intercession or even will of Buonaparte.

It is besides well known that he at one moment actually refused his permission to the marshal to accept the offer of the Swedes, because he had professed himself unwilling to give any pledge on the subject of the continental system; and in the end Bernadotte received a reluctant consent, and this only upon the ground that he should trust to the honour of a Frenchman for the fulfilment of the part Sweden must take in the grand plan for the salvation of Europe. He bowed and retired.

The election being officially made known

to him at Paris, Bernadotte changed his uniform for that of a Swedish nobleman, and with the same happy facility abjured the Catholic for the Lutheran faith, then set out without loss of time on his journey to Elsineur; from thence he was conveyed by a formal deputation of nobles, senators, &c. to the seat of Mr. Wahrendorf, in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, where he remained a few days.

His first object at the capital was a private visit to the king and queen, his adoptive parents, who received him with great cordiality. On the following day he made his public entry, and was introduced at court with the honours due to his new rank.

Three days were now devoted to public reception at the palace, and fêtes prepared of the most splendid description. The first day was chiefly occupied by presentations: on the second was exhibited a theatrical spectacle, where persons of high rank in the country sustained the several

parts of the drama: on the third a grand ball was given, that was enlivened by the introduction of an allegorical device much admired for its ingenuity.

The company were variously engaged, when on a sudden a bevy of ladies entered the room performing a national dance, and dressed "*à la bergere Suedoise:*" while every eye was turned towards them, a set of young cavaliers appeared habited "*à la mode Française:*" they accosted the Swedish damsels, were received with great complaisance, and after a short parley they joined in the dance together, chanting strains of fidelity and pastoral love. A fair specimen of the better style of French taste as imitated in Sweden.

The fêtes were succeeded by the presentation of the deputies from the several provinces, who came with congratulatory addresses to his royal highness. Of all these, that of the Laplanders (who came somewhat later in the year) was the most remarkable. They were ten in number,

all people of high respectability, but their appearance and dress such as is peculiar to their climate; and it must be imagined that their diminutive stature, their costume of fur, their sledges drawn by reindeer parading round the area of the palace, must have displayed a spectacle of a novel kind to a native of Gascogne.

With regard to home policy, no great changes were expected to take place on this occasion; the diet of 1809 had revised the articles of the constitution, and nothing was required to be done at the session which was called upon the arrival of the Crown Prince but the introduction of the French conscription, which he earnestly solicited from them. Being foreign to the general tenor of the Swedish laws, it was no easy point for him to gain, and he awaited it is said the decision of the houses with considerable anxiety: on the arrival of the officer who informed him the bill had passed, he sprang from his seat, and embraced him eagerly, exclaiming, *c'est fait*—

nous sommes independans. The expression will be held equivocal by some people, but we should add that it was the cause of the nation which his words alluded to, and subsequent events have proved the truth of his views.

The stipulations of this law included young men of every rank indiscriminately, between the ages of twenty and twenty-five, placing at the disposal of the crown a force of about 80,000: only two of these years were afterwards put in training, and to judge from the usual bounty given at this time for a substitute (100 R. D. B.) it cannot be considered as a measure in any way oppressive in its operation; notwithstanding which it excited some rebellious tumults among the peasantry in the provinces lying to the south of Stockholm.

They were misled by their feelings. The class of the commonalty were those in fact who had least real ground of complaint; the law might be looked upon as a sort of

constitutional victory on their part over the higher privileged orders, rather than as an infraction on the rights of the lower. The nobility previous to this day were not personally liable to be called upon for military service, neither was it without much opposition on their parts that this sweeping clause was carried. This concession once made, paved the way to the abolishment of a second exemption, not less iniquitous in its principle than the former; and before the diet dispersed, the nobles subjected themselves also to the burthen of taxation; anticipating by a voluntary act what must otherwise sometime have been extorted by harsher means, and conceding a point to the national good, whose relinquishment a few years back would have been branded by their order as the basest dereliction of duty.

But innovation did not stop here: it seems that the soldiers were formerly raised by a levy on the several districts in the usual proportion of one from each Hem-

man*, and from this circumstance arose therefore another difficulty in framing the conscription act. The lands now held of the crown, and some of those formerly annexed to it, were by the old law freed from this onus, such an immunity however was not now to be endured; yet it was unfair to abolish this privilege without affording some compensation, and much debate ensued upon the question. The ministers proposed that, in alleviation of the new change, the quota of recruits levied on these estates should be commutable at the pleasure of the proprietor for a certain charge not exceeding five *barils* of corn each man; but the diet was now filled with projects of equalisation, and returning their answer by a direct negative, the question was carried as before stated.

It has been often said, from these circumstances taking place soon after his arrival, that the Crown Prince was in-

* The ordinary extent of an Hemman is under 30 acres.

clined to favour the popular side in politics: if it should be his intention to raise the power of the merchants and the peasants, so as to form a counterpoise to the overbearing weight of the nobles, he will follow the wisest course which historical experience can point out for imitation: but of this hereafter.

With regard to foreign views and relations, the prospects of Sweden by his means took a new direction: this system however was in opposition to general opinion, and regarded by few persons in a proper light. Circumstances had undergone an alteration, but the public, who are ever slow to change, were not in any way sensible of the different line which it was become advisable to adopt.

While Finland was the object of contention (and it had constantly been so for the last century) Russia was the natural enemy of Sweden, and the alliance of France of course was sought after for the sake of protection. Finland was now lost;

the objects of alliance changed; Russia had nothing more to demand; France no offers of succour to make which it could be deemed necessary to accept.

But the policy of the ruler of France introduced the consideration of another question: to preserve good terms with him was to avowedly forego all the advantages of commerce, and to cut off at once both the present resources and future hopes of the country. At the same time he insulted the national flag, plundered the ships, treated the seamen as prisoners, and took forcible possession of Pomerania; next he demanded a body of seamen to equip a fleet at Brest, and seemed to threaten by his haughty conduct that he would accept no other than a forced compliance with his wishes on the part of Sweden.

War against England had meanwhile been declared; it was nominal indeed with regard to acts of hostility: the British cruisers returned, in most cases, their captures untouched, and even sent back to

their ports the vessels that they had retaken from the French with a charge only of the usual salvage. *Le gouvernement Anglais n'envisagent pas sa declaration de guerre, comme un motif suffisant pour traiter hostilement le commerce Suedois*.*

Instead, however, of being exposed to the hostility, open or concealed, of both these two parties, as affairs were more advanced, Sweden became the general object of solicitation. On the one side she was offered the provinces of Finland on condition of taking the field with 40,000 men, to co-operate with the grand French army by marching against Petersburg on the northern coasts of the Baltic; but, at the same time, engaging to submit to the continental system, and lending herself to the further aims of the French government, into which Bernadotte had no doubt some insight.

* Rapport à sa M. le Roi de Suède par son Ministre d'Etat & des Affaires Etrangeres. 7 Janvier, 1813. Stockholm.

On the other side, an alliance with Russia promised her possession of Norway as a compensation for the loss of Finland; while England gave a free commerce, an island in the West Indies*, and a subsidy of 1,200,000*l.* to equip a contingent of 30,000 men; but these were to be employed in the common cause of Europe against France.

The Crown Prince balanced but for an instant the choice of these proposals, and by the treaties of Orebro and Abo an alliance was arranged in 1812, between Sweden, Russia, and England. His mind

* The cession of the island of Guadaloupe was looked upon in Sweden as a transfer, chiefly advantageous to England, in whose possession all the neighbouring islands were, and who must ultimately furnish the chief supplies for the use of the inhabitants: so little did they consider themselves as the chief gainers, that the arguments which the English journals urged against the Swedish treaty in the earlier part of this year were looked upon as factitious, and only written with a view to cozen their new friends, the Swedes. Having been since well paid by us for giving it up to France, they no doubt consider the whole transaction as no bad bargain.

had always been bent upon the acquisition of Norway, which was perhaps more advantageous to the country than any extension of frontier on the east could have been. It is related of him, that when one of the agents of Buonaparte arrived at an early hour at Stockholm, the Prince drew aside his bed-curtain as the man approached, and eagerly asked—"*Est ce que vous m'apportez la Norvege?*"—"*Non sire,*" was the answer; on which he instantly dismissed him without making any second demand, or indeed adding another word.

From the circumstance of the late diet having ordered a great road to be made in a line from the south through the north of Westmanland, bearing directly upon Drontheim, the key of Norway, one should be inclined to think that schemes in that quarter had for some time been in view; however this might be, the public were unprepared for it: the Russian and English treaty, though containing this boon, was highly unpopular throughout Sweden. Al-

though French alliance was a fraternisation that must have proved ruinous to a large class of merchants and landholders, yet the abandoning a nation, whose cause had been so long identified with their own, the confirming to Russia the possession of Finland, and the disappointment of those who had supported Bernadotte's election merely with a view to regaining this province, created so strong a party in opposition, that many persons were fearful of the consequences which might ensue at the Prince's return.

Under such circumstances it was that he undertook to engage in the cause of the allies, long before the great European coalition was formed, and at a moment when the possibility of realising such a scheme was yet doubtful. But his conduct answered well: the glory of the success that attended the opening of his campaign in Germany had its due effect, and overwhelmed at once every complaint which had been raised against him at home.

The people thought they beheld another Charles XII.; public opinion underwent a thorough revolution, and recantations of their former sentiments were made by several persons of high rank and consideration, who had before shewn the greatest spirit of hostility to his measures.

The alteration that took place afterwards in the military conduct of Bernadotte it is not my province to discuss. He was a French officer, and one that had been exalted by a singular concurrence of revolutionary events to his present high station, and, no doubt, did not on any ground, unless that of succeeding him be admitted, wish to see the downfal of Buonaparte.

Sweden however was, during this month, on the point of realising by his means the prospect that had been laid open to her. We were engaged at an evening party on the 24th of January, employed in the diversion of *l'oracle, le voyageur racontant, à la guerre,* and other *petits jeux,* when the arrival of a courier from the army in Holstein

was announced; in an instant all the parties of amusement were broken up.—Who was it that brought the despatches? What officers were killed? What news?—Unfortunately the curiosity of these insatiable querists was not destined to be gratified: the rigorous superintendant of the custom-house had refused admission even to the messenger of good tidings; and a long pause of suspense ensued. A peremptory order was instantly sent out, but alas! the peremptory order was disobeyed; and, finally, * * * * himself set out in order to unravel this mysterious business: the company, in short, dispersed at twelve without having received the much wished-for information.

On the following morning congratulations were in the mouth of every one we met. Kiel had surrendered to the Crown Prince: the preliminaries of the Danish treaty were announced, and the cabinet of Copenhagen had made peace by the cession of Norway. It may be

easily imagined that a great sensation was caused by the receipt of this intelligence, and the new acquired domain engrossed the whole conversation in every meeting, public or private, at Stockholm.

The politicians regarded it in the light of an "*arrondissement;*" the court as another jewel added to the crown; the merchants began to originate new speculations; already they revelled in imagination at Christiania and Bergen: while the peasants said they were told it was a matter of great benefit to Sweden, but, nevertheless, could not help entertaining a dread lest these two poor nations now united should one day die together of famine.

On the other hand, those were not wanting who found motives for more serious discontent; and some well-informed persons expressed their fears that the new channels of commerce which would be opened might prove highly injurious to the ports of Stockholm and Gottenburg. But on a general view, the course of policy

adopted on this occasion was wise and judicious, and best calculated in the end for the mutual improvement and advantage of both these two countries.

Norway, in a military point, is a possession of the highest consequence to Sweden, as increasing her powers of defence, and as placing her in a state to protect herself against any invasion from the east, without fearing the irruption of an enemy at her back. Her internal strength and resources will likewise be greatly increased by this consolidation of the means of the whole peninsula; her maritime interest infinitely enhanced by her enlarged extent of coast and accession of commercial prospects; besides which, she had now strengthened her connexion with a great naval power, whose interest it was that Sweden should become strong by sea, when, from her limited population and other natural inabilities, it was impossible she ever could aspire to the rank of being a rival.

On the 26th a Te Deum in honour of

these tidings was ordered to be performed at the chapel royal: it was numerously attended, and celebrated with the greatest pomp. In the evening a grand fête was given at the palace, whither, on such an occasion, the *corps diplomatique* were invited, though contrary to usual etiquette*.

The company assembled about seven in the evening, and we were ushered from the hall of state to the private theatre, where a comedy was admirably performed by the actors from the Italian opera. The drama was succeeded by the representation of an allegorical piece composed for the occasion. Behold Europa enters the scene, surrounded by her fair daughters, Austria, Holland, Italy, Prussia, Russia, Spain, &c. they all seem alike afflicted, and utter in doleful strains their common lamentations. Next the Horrors of War, a ghastly crew,

* This rule of exclusion from fêtes at court was long ago adopted in consequence of the intrigues formerly kept up by the agents of foreign powers, and it is still adhered to.

rush in; each seizing his struggling victim, binds her in chains, and adds new torments to her sufferings; to put an end to the scene of woe, a prince appears (it was thought of Scandinavia) and "*en preux chevalier,*" encounters and overthrows with his own valorous right arm these several grim-visaged monsters, setting free at once all the helpless damsels: this done, as no other similar adventures yet remained for an hero of his calibre to essay, a quiet spectacle ensues. Apollo, the Muses nine, the Arts, with all the *corps celeste*, descend from the *arctic circle*, to grace the hero's return: then the ballet is introduced, and at the conclusion the prince receives a chaplet of laurel from the nymph who personates the Goddess of Peace. Not being able to discover exactly to what part of the life of the Crown Prince this mystical representation could possibly have reference, I should make a very awkward attempt at explanation; but certainly every

one will admit that the laurel was bestowed by no improper hand.

After this entertainment we retired to the saloon, where the queen held her court, and at midnight supper was served in three halls; the royal family, according to their etiquette, regaling themselves apart in a private room. The king, who was but in a bad state of health, retired at an early hour, and at two o'clock most of the company had dispersed.

It would be needless to give a long description of the court. The Crown Princess (of whom some, perhaps, may make inquiry) has never made her appearance at Stockholm but once; her stay was short, and she will probably never more return. Her son, Prince Oscar, created Duke of Sudermania, was present at these festivities: he is of an elegant person, and possesses considerable natural acuteness of mind: although only fifteen years of age, he held his levee, going through the routine

of ceremony with the utmost ease and grace, occasionally entering into conversation with no small fluency in the Swedish language.

On the subject of future destinies, it must be said that the Crown Prince personally deserves every mark of gratitude that the nation can confer upon him for his exertions, his spirit, his activity, his generosity: there are nevertheless many parties still friendly to the old dynasty, and as to what may take place in another generation, I have too little skill in prophecy to hazard even a conjecture. Such persons as are desirous, however, to look into what is to come, may be amused by perusing the following narrative of an extraordinary vision of Charles XI. It is taken from an account written with his own hand, attested by several of his ministers of state, and preserved in the royal library. It contains, upon the whole, so curious a specimen of the mind and manner of one of the greatest Swedish monarchs,

that no apology, I am sure, is needful for its introduction.

" I Charles, the present king of Sweden, (who have always been of a melancholy humour, and was more than usually so disposed the night of the 16th—17th December 1691) cast my eyes by accident towards the window about half past eleven o'clock, and perceived light in the hall of the states. I demanded of the grand chancellor Bjelke, who was with me, what this light could be in the hall of the states, adding that I thought there was something on fire. He answered me, " No, sir, it is the moon which shines upon " the window." I was content with this answer, and turned myself round to the wall to enjoy some repose. But feeling ill at rest, I turned myself round again, and again perceived the light shining; I then said " No, all is not in its ordinary " state." " Yes," said the grand chancellor Bjelke, " and this is nothing else " but the light of the moon;" at the same

time the senator Bjelke entered, who came to inquire after my health. I asked this worthy man whether any accident had happened, or any fire in the hall of the states. After a moment's silence—"Thanks "to God, it is nothing but the light of the "moon, which makes it appear as if there "was a conflagration in the hall of the "states." I was again tranquil; but as soon as I turned my eyes on this side there appeared to be people within: I then got up, took my dressing-gown and slippers, advanced to the window, opened it, and saw that it was all lighted up. I said, "Sirs, all is not here in right order; "in confidence that he who fears God has "nothing else to fear, I will go and see what "this may be." I ordered some one who was present to go to the door-keeper Grunsten, and tell him to come with the keys. When he was arrived, I went, accompanied by the grand chancellor Bjelke, the senators Bjelke, Oxenstierna, Brahe, and the door-keeper Grunsten, by the

private corridor which commences in the part (of the palace) lying to the right of the bed-chamber of Gustavus Ericson. When we were there, I ordered the door-keeper Grunsten to open the door. But he in a state of trepidation begged me not to open it. I desired the chancellor Bjelke to do it, but he dared not. Then I begged the senator Oxenstierna, who is never subject to fear, to open the door; but he answered me, " I have once sworn to hazard " my life and my blood for your majesty, " but never can I open this door." I began to be astonished; but, resuming courage, took the key myself and opened the door. When I entered the chamber which was before the hall of the states, followed by my company, we saw that all was covered with black even to the floor. I was surprised; and I believe that all my suite were sufficiently alarmed. We went straight to the door of the hall of the states, to see how things were. I commanded the door-keeper again to open the door, but he de-

manded of me the grace to excuse him. I desired the rest to open it, and they made the same prayer. I took the keys myself and opened the door. I set one foot in the hall; but hesitated and stepped back as quick as possible. I recovered my senses a little, and said: "Sirs; will you "follow me? We will see what this is. "Perhaps, the gracious God wishes to dis- "cover something to us." They all answered with a trembling and suppliant voice, "Yes." We then advanced; and as soon as we had entered we saw a large round table, surrounded by sixteen venerable men, having each great books before them. At the top of the table was a young king, about sixteen or seventeen or eighteen years old, the crown on his head and the sceptre in his hand. On his right was sitting a gentleman about forty years of age, whose countenance bespoke honesty. On his left was an old man of about seventy; he was urgent with the young king that he should make several times a sign with his

head, when all these venerable men struck their hands upon their books with great violence. I turned aside my eyes, and observed near the table a block, near the block an executioner, near the executioner many men with the sleeves of their shirts tucked up, and cutting off heads one after the other, in such a manner that the blood began to flow in streams to the middle of the hall. God is my witness that I felt much fear, and was greatly amazed. I looked at my boots to see whether some drops of blood had not spurted upon them: but there was not any. Those which were beheaded were almost all young men. I turned aside my eyes, and beheld behind the table a throne almost overturned; and by the side of it was a man who seemed to be protector of the kingdom, and aged about forty years. I groaned and trembled as I retired towards the door, and cried aloud: "Oh, here is the voice of God, and "what must I understand? O God, when "should all this come to pass!" No one

answered, and I cried out a second time; "O great God, when should this happen? "Oh great God, grant me the favour of in- "forming me!" The young king then spoke and said, "This will not happen "in your time; but in that of the sixth "sovereign after you. He shall be of the "same age as you now see me to have, "and this gentleman shews you the ap- "pearance of his guardian. During the "last year of the regency of his guardian, "the throne shall be sold by some young "men. But the guardian, who during the "regency will have taken charge of the "young king, shall then take up the cause, "and they shall strengthen the throne in "such a manner that there never shall "have been or shall be after him so great "a king in Sweden: that all the Swedes "shall be happy in his time, and that he "shall himself arrive at a very advanced "age, and one not of frequent occurrence. "He shall leave after him his kingdom "without debts, and many thousand mil- "lions in his treasury. But before he shall

" be settled on the throne, there shall be " such an effusion of blood that the like " never shall have been seen in Sweden, " nor shall ever be. Thou who art king " of this kingdom, take care that he shall " be advertised of these matters. Thou " hast seen all this; preserve the memory " of it, and act according to thy wisdom." After having said this, the whole vanished; so that there remained nothing but ourselves with our flambeaus. We departed in the greatest astonishment, as any one may imagine, and when we entered into the black chamber all the covering had disappeared, and the rest was in its ordinary state. " *Nous entrames dans mes ap-* " *partemens, et je me mis aussitot à écrire ce* " *que j'avois vu; ainsi que les avertissements* " *aussi bien que je le puis. Que le tout est* " *vrai, je le jure sur ma vie & mon honneur,* " *autant que le Dieu m'aide le corps & l'ame.*"

" *CHARLES XI.*

" *aujourd'hui Roi de Suède.*"

" *L'an* 1691, 17 *Dec.*

" *Comme temoins & presents sur les lieux*

" *nous avons vu tout ce que S. M. a rap-*
" *porté, & nous l'affermons par notre serment*
" *autant que Dieu nous aide pour le corps*
" *& l'ame. H. L. Bjelke, Gr. Chancelier*
" *du Royaume,—Bjelke, Senateur,—Brahe,*
" *Senateur,—Ax. Oxenstierna, Senateur,—*
" *Petre Grunsten, Huissier.*"

The whole story is curious, and well worth attention; but unless the young king's ghostly representative made an error in his chronological calculation, it will be difficult to reconcile the time specified with that which is yet to come. I can offer no explanation, and bequeath the whole, like the hieroglyphic in Moore's Almanack, to the better ingenuity of my readers.

At a time when the renewal of systems of representation seems to be the fashion of the day, it cannot be uninteresting to take a review of one of the few popular forms of government yet remaining, which, though now generally suppressed, were once prevalent throughout almost the whole European continent.

But to an Englishman the constitution of Sweden has stronger grounds of attraction. It is a nation sprung from a kindred stock with ourselves, and who, in a different stage of progress as to wealth and civilisation, now display the same practices and customs that we recognise in the earlier pages of the British annals. Many points too may be observed that seem suggested by the events of our history as well as by those of their own, and many where forms, long obsolete with us, are here still retained in full force.

The following short abstract is taken from the resolutions of the diet of 1811, the passages printed in Italics giving the chief points of resemblance.

The crown is hereditary in the heirs male of the king (according to the order that shall have been established by the diet) on the condition that they *profess the pure evangelical faith*, i. e. confession of Augsburg.

The king's person is *sacred, he is not responsible; he is vested with the supreme power and right of appointment in the civil, military, and naval services.*

Councils.

The king shall govern the kingdom with the advice of his council of state, consisting of nine members, ministers, secretaries, and ex-secretaries, &c. *professing the pure evangelical faith.* All foreign relations, peace, war, &c. &c. are here decided; the first officers of the government are *ex officio* members; as also

The minister of justice, minister for foreign affairs, and chancellor of the high court of appeal.

The secretaries of state are four: war; interior administration, comprehending agriculture, mines, &c.; finance and commerce, &c.; religion, comprehending church, public instruction, regulation of the poor, &c. Under these are placed the respec-

tive colleges or inferior boards of each department.

General Rights.

Justice, liberty of conscience, and *free exercise are allowed in matters of religion. No one can suffer in person or property under any authority, unless according to the forms prescribed by law.*

The judges shall be men *professing the pure evangelical faith.*

For the preservation of justice, twelve men shall be appointed by the king, six nobles and six others, to act under his seal as counsellors of justice, forming a body called the high court of appeal.

The power of reprieve and restoration of property is vested in the king; but the arguments of the high court shall be heard in plea.

The king shall deliver his final decision* in the council of state.

* A singular form is in use on occasion of a reprieve by the king, when the criminal has been condemned by

For the superintendance of the conduct of the inferior courts, the king shall appoint one procureur general, and the states of the diet shall conjointly elect another; these officers shall assist when they think proper at the sittings of any of the courts, and make their report accordingly, being bound to prosecute such functionaries as appear culpable.

The *procureur general* of the states *is also obliged* (at the instance of any one committee of the diet) *to prosecute*, ex officio, the king's ministers or secretaries before the proper tribunal.*

the judgment of the court. He is desired to make his free choice, and declare whether he accepts the king's grace, or prefers to undergo the sentence before passed upon him.

* The tribunal for these prosecutions is a special one, consisting of nearly all the chief officers of the civil, military, and naval services, resident *ex officio*, near the capital. A different provision from that of parliamentary impeachment in England; but it must be remembered also that neither in ordinary judicial affairs is the trial by jury, or by the peers of the accused, adopted in Sweden.

Honours and Appointments.

The king may select any Swede for office on a list of candidates being presented: he may appoint also foreigners of extraordinary talents to any military employment, except to the command of fortresses.

In the ecclesiastical line, the *archbishop and bishops are appointed by the king* out of three candidates proposed.

In the municipal, the burgomasters of each town in like form, much as the sheriffs are pricked with us.

The council of state shall deliver their opinions on the nominations of the king, and have the right to make their humble representations: all such remonstrances shall be produced in their defence in case they are called to trial for having abetted the king in acting contrary to the law of the constitution.

The king may dismiss any one from these appointments upon making known his rea-

son in the council of state. No person, however, employed in the department of justice, can, *on any ground, be dismissed or removed by the king*, unless by his own consent.

The rank of nobility is conferred by the king; titles created after this year *shall only descend to the eldest son:* a practice contrary to that which generally obtains throughout continental Europe.

No appanage or civil employment can be held by a member of the royal family.

Regency.

The king may leave the country at any time, having duly explained his reasons in the council of state.

In this case, or during illness, or indeed the minority of the king, or failure of issue, the council of state form the temporary regency.

If the king stays abroad beyond twelve months*, the diet shall be convened in fif-

* Every one will call to mind the remonstrances made to Charles XII. while at Bender.

teen days after the expiration of that time. The same course shall be adopted if he is incapacitated from duty by illness for so long a space.

Should the regency neglect to convoke the diet under these circumstances, then the provincial authorities and consistories are held to do the same by the 50th day at the latest after the expiration of the above term.

A provision somewhat similar was made in England during the reign of Charles I. when, in case the king neglected to summon the parliament once in three years, the House of Lords were directed to issue the writs for the election of the commons: this act was repealed in the reign of Charles II.

Houses of Diet.

The four estates, nobles, clergy, burghers, peasants, sit in four separate houses: they assemble necessarily at the expiration of every five years; and on other occasions

only when they may be convoked by the king.

The session lasts three months, but the king has the right of prolonging this period if necessary. No officer or *functionary of the crown shall influence the election of deputies* under pain of losing his place.

The persons of the members *are inviolable during the session.*

The immemorial *right of the nation to tax themselves can only be exercised in full diet.*

The king may of his own authority, however, levy requisitions of victuals in those parts of the country through which his troops are on their march.

Neither the national domains or rights can be *alienated,* nor can *any money be borrowed for public service, either at home or abroad, without consent of the diet.*

The king names the marshal of the diet (speaker of the House of Nobles) and the orators (speakers) of the burghers and peasants, as also the secretary of the latter.

The archbishop is *ex officio* orator (or prolocutor) of the clergy.

No decision can be made by the diet in *presence of the king.*

In the same manner as the committees of justice, trade, religion, and grievances, are appointed on the meeting of the British Parliament, so here the following are regularly made out.

Committee of the constitution: to examine, report, and propose amendments of the laws; to review the state of the public debt, and to examine the *procès verbaux* of the council of state.

Committee of state: to examine and report on matters relative to finance*.

* The method of levying and apportioning the income tax savours of the simplicity of the country. A board is formed in each town or district of delegates from every profession, who estimate the annual receipts of their neighbours, and charge them at a rate of about two or three per cent; any one designated by a title, as professor, herr, doctor, &c. (matters of great importance in Sweden) paying a higher rate, in consequence of such distinction.

Committee of indirect taxation: customs and imposts; plan of repartition.

Committee of the bank: to regulate and report.

Committee of laws, ecclesiastical, &c.

Committee of economy: to point out defects in the public administration under this head.

The diet also selects in each session a body of twelve to examine the proceedings of the high court of appeal.

Laws.

A law is the *conjoint decree of the king and the* four *houses of diet.*

If on any point the houses are divided two against two, the committee of state shall be augmented by deputies from each house, to the number of thirty; then one member going out by ballot, the majority of remaining voices shall decide the question.

The subject of a law to be made is pro-

posed to the committee for that branch, and they report to the several houses: if agreed to, the orators report to the king in the succeeding session at the earliest; the king takes the advice of the council of state, and thereupon either approves or refuses his consent.

To amend a law the same forms are necessary, only that in this case a majority of three houses is sufficient; if two against two, those that vote for rejecting the alteration proposed have the right to decide the question.

Liberty of the Press.

The liberty of the press is decreed—no Swede *can be punished for any publication unless upon judgment obtained in a tribunal of justice, stating that its tenets militate against public peace,* or the progress of light and knowledge; for ascertaining which purposes, a regular board of twelve members used to be appointed.

This article, however, has been superseded since the arrival of the Crown Prince, the police being now charged with the duty of superintendance over all *publications* whatsoever: another arbitrary law also has been promulgated, to prevent any correspondence with the family of the late King.

Such are the articles of the Swedish constitution: some variations, however, from the apparent aim of these principles are necessarily introduced in its practical administration. The king, in the first place, enjoys a more absolute sovereignty than is here laid down: the infrequency of the meetings of the diet not only removes the constant check of the parliament upon his public acts, but places him in the light of almost the only permanent authority in the country: while being the dispenser of honours and of the lucrative appointments of office, his party too at all times

embodied and in activity, he has the means of creating a strong faction in his favour, and though the greatest share of natural strength, of property, of weight, lies in the hands of the nobles, yet owing to these circumstances, combined with certain modern laws, the struggle for superiority between these two parties would be an unequal conflict at the present day.

The revolution of 1772 materially impaired the strength which the latter had acquired through the terms they made at the accession of Frederick Adolphus: there is, therefore, no reason in Sweden to dread the occurrence of such a catastrophe as befell the sister kingdom of Denmark, when the commonalty surrendered their rights to the king, that they might be protected from the oppression of their minor tyrants. Besides which the two houses of the *tiers état* are daily increasing in strength, and in time will know and feel their own importance: the contest indeed alluded to before

on this subject of military service and taxation, affords sufficient testimony to this fact.

The House of Nobles consists of about 1200 members, the head of each family being by inheritance the legal representative: they are divided into three classes, the Herra classen, consisting of counts, barons, &c.; Riddar classen, of knights, &c.; Swena classen, of gentlemen without titles, but possessing letters patent of nobility. A regular faction in opposition to the government always displays itself in this house each session, but of late the court party has been constantly gaining ground.

The House of Clergy consists of the archbishop, the bishops, and a certain number of deputies elected from the ecclesiastical body. In party questions they generally take the side of the government.

The House of Burghers consists of deputies chosen from the towns, every freeman paying taxes being allowed to vote:

but very little stir or anxiety is shewn on occasion of the election, and the honour of a seat in the house is not eagerly coveted. This body acts with perfect independence.

The House of Peasants is not a meeting of that description which its name would seem to import, but rather a selection from a minor class of country gentlemen. They are called, as proprietors, the free peasants, in contra-distinction to those who hold lands on a similar tenure with that of the German peasantry; and their title either to vote at the election or to sit in the house arises from the possession of certain lands belonging to the crown, for which a small acknowledgment of the nature of a quit rent is annually paid. Their qualification resembles so far that of the electors in Scotland: but we must remember indeed, that in England it was the tenants in chief of the crown who were originally summoned to the king's parliament. It is curious to remark that here, as was at one time the practice with us, the expense of

attendance at the diet is, in many instances, defrayed by the subscription of their constituents; a dollar is given to some members of the House of Peasants *per diem:* and where this sum cannot easily be raised, two or three districts unite together for the sake of economy, and send one deputy to represent the whole; so that the numbers of the house are never actually filled up.

The nobles, while in the enjoyment of their full power, were always extremely anxious to keep down this rising class of people; they were prevented, by the natural jealousy of the lower orders, from being able to exert any great influence in the elections, but with a view to exclude men of spirit and weight in the country from a seat in the house, they procured the enactment of a certain law, declaring that no person could be eligible as a deputy to the fourth estate who assumed the address of *herr*, (i. e. Mr.) or was habited in any other dress than that of an ordinary peasant. One or two instances have occurred when

men of talent and respectability submitted themselves to the requisite degradations; and obtaining a seat in the diet, were enabled to raise a feeling of party in their favour: but the effect was momentary only, and the want of a proper understanding in the body at large has hitherto rendered such efforts in great measure unavailing.

Upon a general view it is easy to see that in a future age, if the promising prospects of Sweden shall ever be realised, many changes will become necessary in the frame of her constitution. Those moral facilities of action that prevent any inconvenience from being felt in a poorer or less populous establishment are unable to keep pace with the progress of a growing evil: as the political body swells in bulk, the tendency to mischief is augmented in a tenfold proportion; such imperfections as before seemed trifling in their nature increase by neglect, till at length they involve the whole in ruin. The corpulent and

bloated mass then but ill withstands the first attack of disease; a morbid disposition lurks in the system; and long ere it appears on the surface, the malignant cancer has corroded the very sources of vitality. Let it be hoped no over-rigid prejudices will prevent that gradual alteration from taking place, which can alone prevent the dangerous consequences of an ill-judged and spiritless system of procrastination.

Among those now high in employment in the state are many men of acknowledged talents, and, which reflects still more credit on the country, who have raised themselves by their own exertions to their present eminence from a very inferior condition of life.

Count Gyllenborg is the minister of justice, the first officer of the realm; the next in rank is Count Engerstrom, the minister for foreign affairs, a person possessed of strong discernment and of sound integrity; his countess is a Polish heiress, full of zeal and patriotism for her native country—a

feeling which, though adverse at this day to the system of policy that was in fashion, could not fail to raise her in the estimation of every one who loved his own.

Baron Wetterstedt, the chancellor, is considered as a character of the greatest promise; he enjoys the perfect confidence of the Crown Prince, whom he now accompanies in the character of diplomatic agent during the war on the continent. Of Frenchmen, followers of the Prince, who it might be expected would rise to eminence at this court, only four are remaining out of the suite that first came with him to the capital: no great ground of jealousy or ill-will therefore is likely to be afforded to the Swedes on that score.

Jan. 25.—At this time the cold was excessive, generally below 20°, and on the 21st day of this month the mercury stood at 33° of Celsius's* scale below freezing

* This is universally used in Sweden, being the same with the centigrade scale of Paris, freezing point 1, boiling point 100.

point, or 28° below zero of Fahrenheit. It is impossible to recount all the horrors of such a season: no example had occurred during the last sixty years of one so severe. The peasants attending the market came with their faces, arms, and legs, frozen: the soldiers on guard, though relieved every hour, were often taken up in the same condition; and one, it was said, had been found dead at his post. Besides the miserable cases of persons frostbitten that daily thronged the hospitals, several deaths took place among those who were out of the way of immediate assistance. A poor woman, to mention one instance, being ignorant of the unusual inclemency of this morning, had gone early to her usual occupation of washing on the river side; scarce half an hour elapsed before we saw her on her return borne under our windows to her home a lifeless corpse.

It will be well to observe, that the extraordinary increase of cold is not directly made known by symptoms such as might

be expected; no external feeling will enable any person to form an estimate of its comparative rigour. The action of a temperature such as the above is not like the nipping of a frost in England, scarce can one say that its sensations are the same; an extension of its baneful influence is felt not partially, but generally, over the whole body, and its access at first is so gradual that, for several minutes after leaving a warm room, the air seems to make little or no impression: an attempt, however, to endure it for even a quarter of an hour, unless extraordinarily well wrapped up in fur or wadded clothing, would be attended with the highest degree of danger. Exercise alone is totally unable to keep up the necessary vital warmth: the linen becoming moist is instantly converted to a covering of ice, and the animal heat escapes as fast as it is excited.

Even with the adoption of every possible precaution, very injurious effects will sometimes manifest themselves. A soreness in

breathing, an oppressive head-ach, a want of sense in the extremities, and a stiffness in the thighs, are the first symptoms which give the stranger warning to seek again the timely shelter of his house.

Frequently did we remark the dead white patch on the cheek, the ears, or the noses of the lower class, who were moderately provided in point of clothing; and to guard against such contingencies, it was usual to see many of the well furred gentry with the upper part of their faces in masks, with coverings fitted to their ears, and applying their fingers with incessant care to every part of their visages in succession: or sometimes, which is the best preservative for travelling, their skins, where exposed, were greased with oil. Salutations in the street at this period are short; scarce a word or an answer; and the greatest assemblage of people (for the groups are seldom numerous) can be compared only to a meeting at a deaf and dumb asylum. A north-east wind, during such weather as

this, is a chill blast of death that exceeds in horror any other curse of Heaven.

It is not without reason that so much care is used to prevent the face from being taken by the frost, for as the skin is destroyed by its action, a blemish like the sore of a burn serves to recall the memory of the accident during the whole of the succeeding summer. The parts more remote from the centre of circulation are the most liable, as the ears, nose, or the extremities; while the neck or breast, however exposed, are very rarely indeed known to be affected. As to the general effects of the constant cold on the body, I cannot help remarking that the women of all classes both here, and as I afterwards observed in Russia, seemed to be much less affected than the men. It may be that they seldom stay out of doors for so great a length of time as the other sex, but it is certainly true that the influence of the climate on the body varies much in degree upon different habits; there may therefore possibly be some phy-

sical reason for this distinction. The most common effect of the climate at this period is manifested in a determination of blood to the head, and a tendeney to lethargy, but even this is by no means universal.

The extreme accumulation of animal electricity in the frame is also remarkable; the natural moisture necessary to carry it off not having been produced during the day, it is necessarily retained in great quantities, and this is visibly discharged at night on undressing in a warm room, to the infinite surprise of the unconscious stranger.

The power of the constitution to bear against cold, contrary to vulgar ideas, is weakened gradually more and more by endurance; the frame is enervated, in artificial life at least by its influence, and a stranger, instead of growing more hardy and secure, braves the sharpness of the first winter with much greater success than he can attempt a second year. In the course of the first spring, indeed, after his

arrival, he feels infinitely more sensible of its injury than he had been of a similar temperature in the preceding autumn.

Several striking natural phenomena attend this season; symptoms of a degree of rigor of which an Englishman at home can form little or no conception. The smoke seems to ascend from the chimney tops a dense compact cloud, and the atmosphere itself, though not obscure, assumes a stagnate and heavy aspect, more particularly made observable at the rising and setting of the sun. While no sooner has the thermometer fallen to 20°—(Celsius), or 4° below the zero of Fahrenheit's scale, than the cellars of the houses are observed emitting a strong and constant vapour to the streets, which is indeed one of the signs by which the common people are in the habit of ascertaining the degree of cold: another sign, attendant at the same degree of temperature, is that all the streams of water, whose rapidity is sufficient to check congelation, give out in similar way a powerful

steam during day and night from their surface. It was an extraordinary spectacle to see the bridge at Stockholm, through which the waters of the Mælar were discharged, constantly enveloped during the month in a thick exhalation, as if rising from boiling water.

This effect admits of an easy explanation: a perpetual supply* of water takes

* About five years ago an extraordinary circumstance (not wholly unconnected with the nature of the facts in this statement) took place: it was during the continuance of an intense frost (thermom. 24 —) that a part of the ice at the mouth of one of the basons connected with the Mælar (called Clara Sjon) thawed and gave way, in consequence of which unexpected phenomenon it happened that several lives were lost. The cause of the accident is thus explained by the men of science: a westerly wind had carried off the water of the sea from the coast, and of course drained it partially from these creeks; its place was therefore to be supplied by a more than usual draught from the lakes and pools above, and in the disturbance that ensued some water of a higher temperature was brought in contact with the ice that covered this outlet of the creek, and caused its dissolution.

place from under the ice, great part of which (since the freezing of its surface) has reassumed a higher degree of temperature imparted by the warmth of the earth; the interchange of particles occurring in the stream, because they are in this way possessed of a different quantity of heat, prevents the whole from being cooled down to the point necessary for congelation: the declivity continually keeps up the effect; and so great a difference existing between the temperature of the air and that of the water will occasion steam* to be given out from its surface at any point of the thermometer.

The wolves at this time, severely pressed by famine, lost their usual dread of man, and prowled fearlessly on the roads, following the track of our carriages, to a great

* Fogs and falling weather sometimes occurred, though not when the cold was extreme; at that time the sky was always clear and cloudless: an example, perhaps, to be applied to the ingenious theory of the radiation of heat.

distance; in one or two instances indeed they were known to venture, during the night, into the villages in search of prey.

Amongst other inconveniences occasioned in such a climate, is the impossibility of interring the dead from the extreme hardness of the ground: the religious ceremonies attendant upon burial are gone through as usual, but the corpses are all kept together in a place appropriated for the purpose till a general thaw commences.

All communication with England, through the port of Gottenburg, was entirely cut off; the packet-boat came in sight, but was inaccessible from the regions of accumulated ice that encircled the coast: an hundred guineas were offered to any one that would undertake the perilous office of fetching the mails ashore; yet even this temptation was held out in vain, and after waiting more than a fortnight the vessel returned to Harwich.

The roads by land also were blocked up for several days: we had some difficulty

to ascertain the period of their being opened on the west, when the arrival of some travellers from Petersburg removed all the uncertainty that had existed on that score; they brought also with them the agreeable intelligence that the Haff, the straight separating Sweden from the Aland islands, was entirely frozen over. This circumstance determined us instantly to prepare for our journey, as besides the novelty of passing over a sea of ice, it afforded us the only means of avoiding a disagreeable detour of 1400 miles by Tornea, in order to prosecute our route to the Russian capital.

We were accordingly presented at court, for the purpose of taking leave. His majesty the king did us the honour to express himself with great condescension and kindness: he said, that "he owed much to our country, and was proud of the obligation. The treaty of peace now established, he hoped, was sealed for ever." The table before him was almost covered

with the keys of towns that had surrendered to the arms of the Crown Prince, and a chapter of the Order of the Sword had just been held, for the purpose of investing with the insignia some meritorious officers of the Swedish army, who had lately arrived.

His majesty could duly appreciate merit, and sympathise with the feelings of those whom he rewarded; he had served himself in his youth with distinguished honour, and obtained the highest approbation of his countrymen for his courage and conduct at the naval battle of Swenskund. It was a satisfaction to see this period of his life marked by events that reflected a new lustre on the exalted situation to which he had since that day been called.

We took leave of the queen and Prince Oscar on the following day, and prepared for our journey.

February 13.—We got ready our Finnish sledges, which were simple narrow four-sided wooden troughs, matted over the

head, each containing one person, and drawn by a single horse: having now too provided ourselves with boots, gloves, and double pelisses of thick fur, and laid in our stock of brandy, frozen meat, and bread, we at length set out on our road. Clothes for this purpose and indeed for the cold weather in general are always made full and loose, for the sake of warmth: nothing is found to be a worse conductor of heat than air confined, and consequently no more effectual method of preventing the escape of animal heat can be devised than the employment of such a medium; the air confined within the folds of clothing becomes a most efficient preservative: for the same reason, double windows are adopted in almost every house. With regard to inner clothing, it is necessary that nothing should be made tight; as wherever any ligament happens to press, and the circulation is impeded, the part is instantly seized by the frost.

The country wore, as may be supposed,

a dreary aspect; but when objects of present interest are denied, a traveller must content himself with a retrospect of the past, and in this view the tract we were traversing was by no means deficient. These parts have immemorially held the chief rank in Scandinavia. We were quitting Stockholm, the foundation of ancient Birger Jahl; a little to the left of our route lay the ruins of Siggtuna, the city of Odin, and capital of the kingdom of the Goths; before us was Upsala, the old metropolis of the Swedes, and for many ages, as at the present day, the chief seat of learning in the north of Europe.

It was Steno Sture who built the first establishments of this university, as far back as the year 1476, which have since received liberal endowments from the munificence of Gustavus Adolphus. But a brief account of its constitution may, perhaps, be more acceptable than its history.

The body corporate consists of twenty-two professors, with their adjuncts or as-

sistants, the independent members having neither power or vote on any occasion. The income of a professor may be laid at about 2000 R. D. B. per annum (or about 300*l.*) a comfortable and easy subsistence in Sweden: it arises from an annual *corn rent* of 250 *tunna*, besides which an hemman (or farm) is allotted to each, unless in the case of his being a minister of the church, when a living is usually given in its stead.

The rest of the foundation is not large: there are several scholarships of from 60 to 150 R. D. B. per annum (9*l.* to 22*l.* 10*s.*) the produce of private benefactions, and some of an inferior value endowed by the crown, few of them yielding more than 20 R. D. B. or 3*l.* per annum.

Upon the whole, the number of students is about 500. As they are usually sent at a very early age, and as no one can be employed in church or state without a degree from one of the two universities, this number must not be considered as extraordi-

narily large. A considerable class besides receive their education from private tutors at home, obtaining their degrees with no other trouble than the exhibition of the necessary attainments at the expiration of a certain period from the time of their entrance, for no residence is required. The examination for this purpose takes place once every three years, when seventy-five candidates are selected and presented for their degrees. They are examined by a board of thirteen professors of the several arts and sciences*, of which theology and political œconomy are made the chief. As to distinctions of merit, no academical honours are granted to any one, but each professor as he signs the *videtur* (or certificate of the candidate's examination) adds

* These are,—*Theologiæ.; Juris Patr. et Roman.; Jurispr. œconom. et Commerc.; Med. et Botan.; Med. Theor. et Pract.; Anatom. et Chirurg.; Med. prof. et ord. Botan. Demonstrator; Histor.; Physic.; Chemices.; Litt. Human.; œconom. pract.; Eloqu. et Polit.; Astronom. Eloqu. et Poes.; Logic. et Metaph.; Ling. Orient.*

a term expressive of his satisfaction or disapprobation, *Laudo in optima forma, Laudo, cum laude approbo, approbo, admitto;* and occasionally, if the attainments exhibited are of a moderate stamp, *ægre admitto,* or even *ægerrime.* In the wholesale mode of admission above stated, the satisfactory testimonies of four professors, upon the average, will commonly ensure success, and a certain allowance is made in the calculation for the higher terms of praise.

The system of education is carried on by free public lectures; classical studies, as generally the case on the continent, are not pushed very far, at least in Greek.

The young students now on the spot, although some of them were only boys, did not show that playfulness and buoyancy of spirits usually attendant on their age. There were taverns at which they met in an evening to drink their liquors, beer being the common beverage: after this recreation, their favourite pastime seems

to consist in parading the streets in parties, singing songs, that sounded rather of a doleful cast, throwing in now and then an occasional *pereat* to the more obnoxious of their professors.

The gymnastics used at Hanover and other academies in Germany have been introduced, by order of the prince; and we were shown in the court-yard a kind of moveable scaffold, with arms and ropes fixed in various directions, by means of which different feats of agility and suppleness are put in exercise.

The Crown Prince is the chancellor of the university, and the archbishop of Upsal, who resides here, acts as his deputy. The third person in rank is the rector, whose office is elective, commencing from the expiration of each half year. The chair was now filled by Professor Thunberg, a name well known in the world of letters, from the publication of his travels to Japan. He had gone thither in the train of the Dutch embassy, at that time the only

possible mode of obtaining a footing in the country, for even their neighbours, the Chinese, were excluded by the Japanese laws of non-intercourse; while Dutch intrigue (for to them this system is chiefly attributable) had so far fostered the national habits of jealousy, that the whole European world, except themselves, were prohibited from communication. The professor was in consequence required to declare himself a Dutchman born, and that he did not profess the Christian faith—for such was the form of oath. He told us that he acquired the greater part of his information by trafficking his knowledge of medicine with a native physician; it was thus he discovered (a matter of high mystery) the name of the present sovereign, which it seems is never publicly revealed during his reign, and was unknown even to the Dutch envoy, whose credentials he received. The professor gave us many curious and interesting anecdotes, but the reader must be referred to his book, where

he will find unravelled many secrets of more account than the name and titles of the emperor of Japan.

Among the most considerable men that Upsala may boast, the great Swedish botanist and natural philosopher stands in the foremost rank; and among other compliments paid to Linnæus we were shewn a large portico dedicated to him and bearing his name. It led to a spacious hall containing a collection of natural history; and from thence to a magnificent conservatory, where a jubilee dinner, in memory of the day that gave him birth, was held a few years since. His habitation, and the room in which the chirping cricket so much engrossed the attention of his last hours, are displayed to the stranger with much veneration; but his lecture-room was now somewhat whimsically employed by an itinerant exhibitor of Fantoccini, whose puppets were this evening performing Don Juan for the amusement of the Swedish

rustics, that flocked to the annual fair of Upsala.

The tenant of his *quondam* dwelling was a graduate of the university, who had formed a vast collection of entomology: he offered it for sale, and it was said to be very perfect; one of the grey butterflies, nevertheless, was missing, having been lately sent to Germany, in order to settle a dispute concerning its species, and it might possibly, he seemed to think, be detained some time by the circumstances of the present war. We were shewn, moreover, by our accurate friend, two Swedish butterflies, which, said he, Acerbi not having seen before, thought they were unnoticed by others, and, with a boldness unparalleled in the country of Linnæus, gave names to them himself; the papillio Emilia, and the papillio Sophia, after two ladies of his acquaintance at Stockholm.

Various branches of natural history appear to be pursued here with much ardour;

we were next shewn a collection of shells belonging to the Dilettanti society, formed on the most extensive scale, neither expense in procuring them having been spared, nor pains in their arrangement.

On the 17th we attended the Parentalia of the late queen. The ceremonials were opened by the performance of some solemn pieces of music, after which, two orations, one in the Swedish tongue, the other in Latin, were pronounced in honour of the deceased. The cold being on this day upwards of 16°—, the professors, though placed in their seats of dignity, were wisely provided with clothing of divers skins, from that of the shaggy wolf, to the bear of the north; and their disciples were habited in similar guise: a sight which, when put in comparison with the scholastic pomp of our English universities, seemed to partake of a ludicrous character; but it was according to the usual custom of the place, and a course dictated by sheer necessity.

The hall of the academy, where these

formalities were carried on, was a plain structure, without any striking beauties of shape or arrangement. Directly *vis-à-vis* rises the cathedral, which is built of brick, after the model of the Notre Dame at Paris. Among other objects of curiosity is pointed out the place where the kings of Sweden are crowned, as also some antiquities highly interesting to a reader of Swedish history;—the jacket in which the Protecture Sture was assassinated by Eric:—the whetstone sent by Albert (of Mecklenburg) to Margaret of Waldemar, whereon to sharpen her arrows for her threatened hostilities:—a wooden idol, supposed by some to be a representation of the god Thor:—the ring given by Gustavus Adolphus to Ebba Brahe, &c. &c. But the library contains one of the most valuable treasures connected with the biography of their kings; the sealed chest inclosing the secret papers of Gustavus III. which was given with injunctions that it should not be opened till the expiration of 50 years

after his decease: the attraction arising from the circumstances of his times will have passed away before the period arrives, but they may probably contain hints for a new historian of Catherine II. There is also preserved here the Codex Argenteus, a MS. copy of the Testament in the Sueo Gothic language, written in silver letters on purple-coloured parchment: it is well known from its publication in England.

The first book printed in Sweden is also shewn, a collection of fables, edited by Snell, bearing the date of 1487. The journal of Eric XIV. a note book filled with mysterious signs and characters of necromancy, is curious, for this subject seems to be always a favourite study at the royal palace.

As to religion, the Roman Catholic and reformed churches may be called those of the south and north of Europe respectively, and the established church of Sweden is the Lutheran; but the spirit of piety is

quiet and dormant; unfomented by the fostering warmth of jarring sectarists, it sinks to a state of tranquillity and almost utter indifference, rarely becoming the foundation of moral conduct or principle.

I remember to have heard an oration of the president of the academy of sciences at Stockholm, which turned upon the dangerous precepts inculcated by the modern philosophy of Kant, Schelling, Halle, or others of the new sect, which, he averred, had been embraced too eagerly of late by many of the young students at the universities. To whatever extent this may have taken place, I do not believe that the religious apathy of the sluggish Swede is at all attributable to the poison engendered by these crude dogmas, but to causes that are most obvious upon even a slight review of their national habits and customs.

It is true that the fanciful tenets of Swedenborg owe their birth, as well as, in some sort, their celebrity to this country: they did not, however, grow much into

fashion; and though there are to this day certain of his disciples remaining, there never was a time when they formed a very numerous party.

The most imposing part of his doctrine, which concerns the reappearance of departed spirits, is written in so allegorical and symbolical a style, that few persons have ever given themselves the trouble of perusing his volumes. It is sufficient to give an instance of its obscurity by stating, that a stag is the representation of a courtesan; and in general it may be said, that no hieroglyphical writings, Mexican, Egyptian, or Hindoo, are half so mysteriously involved.

One of his first attempts to induce the world to believe he held converse with the dead was practised upon the Countess Brahe. Having just lost her husband, her friends were paying visits of condolence, and amongst others Emanuel Swedenborg: he came he said to inform her that he had seen her husband since his decease, that he

commended himself to her, and demanded that the favour of an interview with his son might be granted to him: the countess, nothing alarmed at this appearance of collusion with supernatural powers, gave Swedenborg permission to do what he pleased. He took the boy into a pavilion in the garden, where he pretended to hold a conversation with some one unseen; on returning, he told her the count was satisfied, and highly delighted with the indulgence shewn to his request. She was amazed, and whatever she really thought, some of her neighbours certainly betrayed symptoms of credulity.

But he gained still more credit from relating, by anticipation, to the Dowager Queen, Louisa Ulrica, the contents of sundry letters, which she afterwards received from the cabinet of the deceased king, her brother, at Berlin. He is said to have given the substance very accurately.

A third story, for he as yet confined his

schemes of imposture to the female sex, was a miracle wrought in behalf of the widow of the envoy from Portugal. This lady was much importuned by one of her late husband's creditors for the payment of a debt. The claim she well knew had been satisfied long ago, but having no papers to produce that could prove the fact, she was placed in a most unfortunate dilemma. Swedenborg, with his usual assurance, undertook the management of her case, and promised that he would consult the shade of her departed husband. In the mean time it happened that the poor woman, whose mind was occupied on the subject day and night, dreamt she saw him herself, and that he pointed with his finger to a certain secret drawer in his cabinet; on waking in the morning she flew to search this spot, and to her surprise really found the quittance for the bill, which it appeared had been carefully laid by. The story of her vision was instantly noised

abroad, and in a few days Swedenborg called upon her himself; he pointed out the same secret drawer where she had discovered the receipt, and said her husband had made a similar revelation to him. Upon this his fame increased daily, and his after-prediction was talked of by the inhabitants of the capital with wonder and astonishment.

Swedenborg, in his zeal for propagating his strange doctrines, did not conduct himself with much judgment, and when he left the country he had quarrelled with all his former friends on one ground or other. He then fled to England, where he finally took up his residence.

It is probable that, in pursuit of his system of imposition on others, he had succeeded at last in almost deceiving himself, and become a staunch convert to his own fallacies; but certainly the scheme is looked upon in Sweden as having been a speculation of a pecuniary nature, or at

least so on the part of his chief followers. Enough, however, has been said of Swedenborg.

With regard to the ministers of the established church, though they form in this country a body of the highest respectability, yet the profession is very rarely embraced by any one of noble family; the late archbishop of Upsal and the present bishops of Stregnäs and Wexiö stand at this day as the only exceptions. The parochial benefices are partly in the gift of the crown, and partly vested in the presentation of the parishioners themselves; in which latter case, where a *seigneur* holds any large property in the place, he necessarily enjoys so great an influence, that the election may almost be said to be placed in his hands: and the time is probably not very far distant when his power will have grown into a sort of prescriptive right.

For the support of the clergy, tythes of the produce of the land are every where

allowed; though of this, except in the provinces of Smäland, Bleckingen, and Schonen, two-thirds belong to the state, and the remaining quota only is the property of the pastor: the former portions are paid according to the rate of an ancient composition; but the latter, being under no similar restrictions, increases in value with the necessities of the times, as well as the daily improvements of agriculture; and some of the livings afford a very handsome income to the incumbent. There is no country, professing the reformed religion, except England, where the clergy are on so respectable a footing.

The prison of Steno Sture, as likewise Mora Stenar, the circle of Runic stones, within which the coronation of the ancient kings was performed, have been the theme of many a traveller; nor have the barrows at Gamla Upsala, the tombs of these sylvan monarchs, or the temple of the Pagan gods at this village, been passed unnoticed. To cite all those who have

mentioned this building would be a long task, for the Swedish writers carry the story of its fame to high antiquity, and quote the same passage of Diodorus Siculus, which, with us, is generally referred to Stonehenge. However it may be, every succeeding author speaks in high terms of admiration, though except the usual epithets, *egregium & mirabile*, I do not know that much information is afforded: we are told that it was surrounded by a chain of solid gold, and built in the form of a cross, that is, of a hammer, the attribute of the pagan god Thor. With regard to its antiquity, says Rudbeck, it was so old that it was believed to have been founded by one of the sons of Noah: he ascribes it, however, modestly enough, to the youngest.

It now appears in the shape of a modern church, shewing, in some parts of the walls, the remnants of another structure, which was, no doubt, the Christian church built in the reign of Suercherus from the ruins of the original temple, and upon the

same foundations: a practice that was not uncommon with the early Christian missionaries, who thus associated the local veneration of the pagan altars to the solemnization of the new rites which they were about to introduce.

From hence we set out, under the ungenial influence of the N. E. wind, for Osterby, where we were kindly received in the hospitable mansion of Mr. Tamm. The introduction to his acquaintance was a favour we owed to Herr Berzelius, who did us the kindness to accompany us on our excursion. We accounted ourselves particularly fortunate in this circumstance. Mr. Tamm was a person possessed of considerable information, strong natural talent, and endowed with all that courteous respect for others which is the offspring of a real knowledge of one's self.

Besides these qualifications, he was a man of high character, and possessed of a firmness of spirit and strength of mind rarely to be surpassed. His conduct at

the diet of Norrköping is a memorable example; when, in conjunction with three other noblemen, he voluntarily renounced his rank rather than sanction by his vote the cession of those privileges which the late king demanded. However mistaken the ground on which they acted might be in some respects, their high and noble feelings have been duly appreciated by the present government; one of them now enjoys the office of governor of a neighbouring province, and handsome offers are understood to have been made to the others; Mr. Tamm, however, prefers the enjoyment of his retirement here to any reward that the king's munificence can bestow.

The celebrated iron mine of Dannemora was within a short drive from Osterby. It presented a sight of fearful wonder: a long yawning chasm of upwards of ninety fathom in depth, which has been excavated by the successive toil of near five centuries: the extent indeed, great as it is, would never suggest the idea of human la-

bour having been able to achieve such an object, one should rather believe it to be the effect of some stupendous convulsion of nature.

The brink was crowned with various machinery, and long wooden chain-pumps that reached more than an English mile in length; the sides of the precipice were fancifully hung with clusters of icicles, and happily diversified by the figures of men and women in their ascent and descent, "*winging the midway air.*" Our curiosity led us to follow their example, and we were let down in a bucket, after their mode, to the spot where the workmen were employed: here from a temperature of 12° we found we had been transported to a comparatively warm region; the water at a few yards distance from the mouth of the level was not even congealed; and in the innermost recess, to judge from the experiment we made, the heat of the earth seemed about 4° +. (Celsius); which is about the mean temperature of the earth

in these latitudes, according to general estimation.

In point of exportation, the value of these mines, which produce the best material for bar iron in the world, has very sensibly decreased since the use of coke has been adopted in England, and applied so universally to the purposes of cementation; for it was to that country they formerly exported the greatest quantity: the present defalcation, in short, of the revenue, amounts to 6000 R. D. B., out of 10,000 R. D. B. which was once the average of their receipts.

There were several founderies at no great distance from the mine, where wood was abundant: as for their time of transport for the ore, &c. the winter was usually selected, on account of the facility for draught which the sledging affords; the snow, in fact, is compressed on the beaten tracts of the high roads to the consistence of ice, so that very little impediment arises

from friction to the motion of the sledge: one is surprised however to find upon inquiry that the ordinary draught of a horse on this track is not laid at more than one ton English, in consequence of the want of uniformity in its surface.

The iron foundry at Osterby is a considerable establishment; the workmen are descendants of the old Walloon refugees, who are remarkable for still forging the iron after their own ancient fashion, heating the pig at one end till it drops off piece by piece, and thus taking it in lumps to the hammer.

But, perhaps, the greatest curiosity of these parts of the country is the foundery at Söderforss, where the superior quality of the ore enables the manufacturers to forge anchors immediately from the pig iron without the intermediate process of forming it into bars; these are said to possess extraordinary qualities of lightness and strength, in which they stand unri-

valled except by some I have heard mentioned of a similar description that are made in the province of Biscay.

The copper mine at Fahlun, and that of silver at Sala, we were prevented from visiting by the advanced state of the season.

But we had intelligence by the post from that side of the country, which was not of the most agreeable nature: great discontent had manifested itself in Norway, and symptoms of tumult and rebellion, so that it seemed the King of Sweden and heir of Norway *(arfvinge till Norrige)*, in spite of his old title and new pretensions, was not likely to enter quietly into possession. The poor Norwegians had suffered dreadful distress, being obliged to make bread of mosses or whatever else could afford nourishment, and a *tun* of bark (*écorce à manger*) was sold this season at the price of 14 R. D. B. or about *2l. 2s.* sterling: the Swedish government was regarded by them as the chief promoters of the blockade by sea which had so much

harassed them, cutting off indeed their main resources for sustenance, and this idea was one of the chief causes of their present unpopularity.

Feb. 19.—Feeling no great concern on the head of Norwegian politics, we recommenced our journey, and on the following morning reached the coast at Grisleham by break of day. The sunbeams were just rising over the frozen ocean which lay before us, and the presage that we drew of fine weather from the appearance of the sky was too alluring to allow us to loiter long on shore; as soon therefore as our bargain for horses could be struck with the chaffering peasants from the islands, and we had made a hasty meal, we set out on our course.

It was an extraordinary sight: although the streights lying between the islands and the coast of Finland are frozen every year and made passable to travellers, yet this grand channel of the Häf, that separates the Aland group from Sweden on the west,

is very seldom completely covered. For since it is upwards of forty miles (English) in breadth, and of a great depth, it is not probable that such a circumstance should often occur, except by chance from the accumulation of masses of ice floating down from the north, and the access of chill which arises from thence: this year, however, in consequence of the severity of a single night, the whole surface at once became fixed and was congealed, a phenomenon that had hardly ever happened before in the memory of the oldest man living. Being spread over by the falling weather that succeeded, it was now to appearance a smooth immeasurable desert of snow, gradually changing its hues from the sparkling white beneath the feet, till it faded on the horizon with tints of azure exquisitely delicate: for a short space above, a dull white light appeared as an *halo* reflected in the atmosphere from the plain below.

That which peculiarly struck one's imagination was the stillness of the scene:

none of those enlivening accompaniments of the sea-coast, which usually impart so pleasing a gaiety to one's feelings, were here to be met with; not a bird on the wing, not a wave on the beach; it seemed as if the voice of nature was every where dumb. One spot only appeared on the spacious waste, and that scarcely discernible; it was a caravan of peasants bound with their cargoes of wood for Stockholm. We passed them some hours afterwards as they were feeding their horses at the midway point, and discovered to our surprise, that this speck heretofore so inconsiderable consisted of near thirty carts. We enjoyed a quiet day, without a breath of wind, and felt the ray of a bright sun that raised the thermometer* some few degrees above the point of congelation. The line of our road, from the tracks of former travellers, remained visible in almost every part, nor were we

* Of Celsius thermometer 5° + in the sun, 5°— in the shade. The population of Signilscar consists of about 9 souls.

at any time obliged, as is more generally the case, to have recourse to our compass for the sake of ascertaining our bearings. These circumstances amply compensated in pleasureable sensations for whatever the scene wanted in more romantic accompaniments, and made a strong contrast with the strange accounts we had previously heard relating to this part of our journey.

After we had travelled about ten miles (English) in a direction E. N. E. the little rock of Signilscar was descried like a black streak in the distance, and our utmost exertions could not enable us to reach it till three or four hours after sun-set. Here we stopped to refresh ourselves, and having procured a relay of horses, set out on that part of our voyage which yet remained to be performed, before we reached our halting place at Eckero.

During the disastrous war of 1809, when the Swedes were driven from hence, a Russian general, in frolicsome mood, crossed

over the ice with a band of an hundred Cossacks to Grisleham, merely for the sake of boasting of making a march in imitation of the memorable and daring act of Charles the Tenth, when he passed the Belt; but the exploit excited the most serious alarm on the coast, and no small consternation, as might be imagined, at Stockholm.

Yet provision was made, as far as the conveyance of intelligence was concerned, against surprise from this quarter, for Grisleham was one of the few telegraphic stations kept up in Sweden. But the one we were surveying deserved notice, for a better reason than as being a rarity in the country; for it is, perhaps, an example of the longest line of communication that has been permanently established on this principle; since from that place to Signilscar is a distance of more than 28 English miles. It is curious, moreover, that it is claimed as an instance of original invention: it was erected by the president Edelcrantz, in September 1793, about four months

after an experiment upon a similar construction had been exhibited at Paris, by M. Chappe; but this was, at the time, unknown to the Swedish projector.

The correspondence is carried on by numerals, answering to certain conventional syllables and words. The signs are made by nine flat boards, which may be turned edgeways or placed upright, similar to those adopted in the old French telegraphs and in our own, with this difference only, that an additional one is added at the top, in order to double, upon occasion, the number which has been indicated below. These nine boards were ranged in three upright lines, denoting the several places of units, tens, or hundreds respectively: the numbers adapted to them were 1, 2, 4, in each line, which will be found to afford the most useful combinations for expressing the digits, and indeed to answer every number up to 999, a limit admitting very sufficient powers of intercourse upon this principle.

Of the two telegraphs, that on the coast of Sweden alone was now remaining, for

the Russians destroyed the other upon taking possession of the island of Signilscar.

On taking leave of this country, it may not perhaps be amiss to turn to another subject which is now so much cultivated, and a study which has been nowhere more successfully pursued.

The following short mineralogical account of Sweden is abridged from a public lecture, delivered before the Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, by Hisinger, than whom no one was better qualified to do justice to such an undertaking.

It commences by laying down the chief ranges of mountains*. The great central

* The height of the chief mountains, above the level of the sea, is given in Paris feet from the above mentioned essay.

Lapland.		Jemtland.		Norway.	
Sulitelma . .	5173	Syttorp . . .	6652	Inshætan, highest of the Dofre chain . . .	7620
Norden top . .	5796	The mountains of Dalecarlia, approaching the Norway frontier, are from 3000 to 4000		Near Cape Nord, their elevation is about . .	3300
Vallispitz, near Quickjock .	4100				

Vegetation is not found at an height exceeding 2000 feet above the line of perpetual congelation.

chain of the peninsula, dividing Norway and Sweden, branches out on both sides into innumerable lesser divisions. On the western or Norwegian slope the base is in general a rock of gneiss, covered with micaceous or argillaceous schist, on which repose transition rocks of limestone, argillaceous schist, sandstone, porphyry, grauwacke, &c. On the eastern side lies the country of Sweden, containing rocks chiefly similar to the above, of which a description is here subjoined.

Primitive rocks.

Granitic gneiss is the common basis, hav-

The vegetation of trees ceases in Jemtland, lat. 63½° at 3420 feet above the sea.

In the island of Stegen, lat. 68°, on the coast of Norway, at 1277.

The line of perpetual snow is carried in Lapland at Quickjock, lat. 67° 6′, to the height of 4100 feet.

In Norway (says de Busch) lat. 61° to 5200, lat. 62½° to 4860, lat. 67° to 3600, lat. 71° to 2200.

The line of perpetual snow on Chimboraço is at the height of 14,760 feet; on the southern side of the Alps at the height of 8400.

ing in some part scarcely an appearance of stratification*; it contains many extraneous substances.

1. Hornblende, garnet, black tourmalin, iron in grains slightly oxidised, pyrites, and occasionally gadolinite and titanite.

2. The veins are filled with quartz, feldspar, and sometimes compact hornblende.

3. This formation is also rich in subordinate beds, mica slate, hornblende, limestone, talc, iron slightly oxidised, copper pyrites, galena: these are rich enough to afford mines which amply repay the expense of working in Sudermania, Upland, Nericia, Ostrogothia, Westermania, Dalecarlia, Lapland, Westrogothia, &c.

Micaceous schist lies next in order, and is

* The gneiss is sometimes divided into banks or steps, as in M^t^ Luppiovara and d'Avasana, in the parish of Ofver Tornea, as also near Carlstadt; sometimes in tables, as at the foot of Kineculle on the banks of the Wenner near Westerplanos; another variety is distinctly stratified, but the beds are thick and undulated; the sides of the L. Wenner are of this latter description.

more regularly stratified: it covers the top of the central chain of mountains, and some of the lateral branches: it never occurs in the plains, unless in subordinate beds to the gneiss.

Extraneous substances:

1. In the rock, chiefly garnet and hornblende.

2. In the veins, metal, as gold at Adelfors.

3. In the beds, iron oxidated, in a greater or less degree, copper pyrites, galena; sometimes these beds are united to an extraordinary thickness, and form what is called stockwork, as at Fahlun: among the subordinate beds are lime, schistose hornblende, compact feldspar, quartz, talc, and schistose talc.

Primitive limestone lies on the lateral branches, as in Sudermania, to the extent of many miles, but very seldom on the great central chain. This rock never occurs (in thick beds at least) to the south of Ostrogothia, Westrogothia, and the Dahl.

It sometimes contains manganese, sometimes magnesia (dolomite).

Extraneous substances:

1. Serpentine, tremolite, talc, hornblende, garnet, quartz, mica.

2. Beds of compact feldspar, iron slightly oxidised, copper pyrites, galena: the mines of Sakha, Häkansbóda, Langbanskytta, and iron mines to the west of Norberg, lie in this rock.

Primitive argillaceous schist is found on the Dahl: another variety of a softer nature at Hellefors, in Westmania. This rock is found also near Saggatjervi in Lulea Lapland.

Quartz rock of a whitish or reddish colour, intermixed in parts with feldspar, in the mountains of Smöland and on the Dahl.

Porphyry of a brownish red colour; reposing on a bed of siliceous schist over the gneiss: in Smöland, near Sæthalla, Willkjol, and at Ingatop.

Hornblende often mixed with feldspar,

copper pyrites, and sometimes mica, in Smöland. The mass of iron ore at Taberg belongs to this formation of grunstein: in the parishes of Olmchæsad, Væschærad, Nyed, in Wermeland, are rocks of gneiss, crowned with grunstein.

The inclination and direction of the mica, schist, and gneiss follow the same laws: on the central chain they seldom incline at an angle of more than 45°, but, on the branches, are sometimes nearly vertical.

Their direction is mostly parallel to that of the central chain, generally from N. E. to S. W.

Their inclination is more variable, sometimes to the west, but generally to the S. E. and E.

The inclination of all the primitive rocks, and also of the newer formations, follow the same order, and this too when their beds are almost vertical.

Transition rocks, the most ancient.

These occur more irregularly as to their

number, in covering the primitive, but their relative age is well ascertained: the oldest are laid near the principal chain, and even on the high mountains; the less ancient farther removed; the newest or secondary still farther on the side of Schonen.

The petrifications are of vegetable and animal species, no longer in existence. Ortoceralites, echinites, madrepores, entrochites, entomoli (paradoxi), anomites, mytilites, &c. rarely ammonites and lituites. They are found in the limestone, bituminous schist, argillaceous schist, and sometimes in the sandstone.

Veins are more uncommon than in the primitive rocks: fluate of lime, calcareous spar, galena, fill some veins in the *sandstone*: galena and blend, and iron with the slightest degree of oxidation in the *porphyry* of Elfdal: galena and blend in the *limestone* of Boda in Dalecarlia. The banks of *limestone* sometimes contain subordinate beds of argillaceous and marly schist, the

bituminous schist producing alum, pierre de porc, and balls of hepatite. The secondary *sandstone* contains beds of *coal* and of *clay*. In the *chalk* are knots of flint: among the substances dispersed in the generality of beds, one ordinarily finds pyrites in the *bituminous schist* (whence its use in the manufactories of alum) as also in the *limestone*, sandstone, and grunstein.—Yellow blend in the bituminous schist of Hunneberg, and grains of iron slightly oxidated, and leaves of mica are seen in the porphyry of Elfdal.

The mountain of Kurrovaara, in Tornea Lapland, is of *puddingstone*. The same rock appears on the chain of high mountains (on the Norwegian frontier of Jemtland). Below this is, in many parts, *argillaceous schist*, apparently belonging to a formation of this epoch.

In descending from this last covering we meet at Sœrna, Elfdal, &c. a vast formation of siliceous sandstone; and above this, in the parish of Lima, *grunstein* in

some places porphyrous, as also *amygdaloide.* In Elfdal and near Mora and Orssa, *porphyry*, a *conglomerate* of *porphyry*, *siliceous schist* and grunstein, in beds nearly horizontal. Leaving the high mountains, but yet among the elevated hills near the limit of the region of porphyry, one finds a less ancient formation of *sandstone* and *lime of transition*, which contains beds of argillaceous schist. The land is here and there covered with *puddingstone* and *sandstone*, with argillaceous and marly *schist* in the isles of Visingö, Rosknö, and some other summits; and by an uninterrupted suite of this description on the eastern side of this lake, at Nykyrka and Motala, as also near Grenna, &c.

Transition rocks, less ancient.

The general accord in their substances, their order, their structure, and their petrifications, are proofs of their contemporaneous formation; they are more regular than the former in their occurrence, and

their position is generally horizontal. Two of these formations are placed high, near the great mountains in Jemtland and in Dalecarlia: the others are lower, and either surrounded with chains of hills, as in Nericia and Ostrogothia, or in the plains, as in Skaraborg on the eastern side of Schonen. The most regular in occurrence are those in Westrogothia; they are not always contiguous, but form little hills, sometimes intersected by the primitive basis, gneiss: their order on the gneiss is thus, sandstone, bituminous schist, limestone, argillaceous schist, marly schist, and above all a bed of grunstein. Isolated masses of grunstein are found in some parts of Schonen.

Secondary rocks.

These are only found in the plains of Schonen, in the south. Near the sea at Helsinborg are beds of *sandstone* mixed with those of *coal* and *clay*, reposing on the sandstone of transition, which is found

even in the middle of the country, and extends to the Baltic on the east. Near Oresund, south of Malmo, are beds of chalk with black flint: these beds continue under the sea, and are met again in Zealand and in the isles of Moen and Steven, in every other respect the same, but more elevated.

To the N. E. of Schonen, on a basis of gneiss, are the newest formations of secondary limestone, with shells slenderly united, and for the most part broken.

Alluvion.

This is composed of the debris of the above rocks in different gradation as to the size of the particles, large blocks, pebbles, gravel, common sand, and shifting sand. The direction of these from the mountains to which they belong is to the S, and S. E., following in general the course of the valleys; those fragments that are the largest in size, and most frequent in occurrence, are on the high grounds, hav-

ing been stopped in their progress by their weight, or by the ridges of the rocks. The *rideaux* of sand, found chiefly in the middle of Sweden, are generally in a direction parallel to the chief valleys, nearly from N. to S.

Clay is found mostly in the valleys of the mountains, and often covered with sand: in the plains resting on the primitive basis, it generally occurs in horizontal beds. When the base is lime it is mixed with other beds, as the debris of the rocks on which it lies. There occurs in Schonen a more refractory clay, that is fitted for the manufacture of pottery.

The beds of testaceous animals in a state of calcination are seen chiefly in the islands on the side of the government of Bohus, and on the land near Uddevalla, lying at an elevation of near 200 feet. Their analogous productions are generally found in the adjacent sea. The same sort of shelly appearance has been observed in the clay at Akesvass, during the excavation of the

Trolhætan canal, as also at Lilla Edet; they lie about 100 feet above the level of the river.

Since iron is in the north so generally spread among the rocks, it is not surprising that we find its ores among the alluvial beds in grains, or more oxidated in the form of bog iron ore, or else deposed by the water in the form of ochre.

The beds of saline earth are not common, nor when they occur do they appear to be powerful: on the river Umea, in the province of Ostrogothia in Sudermania, and in the government of Skaraborg, are some springs slightly saline, though too weak to admit of being made use of for the extraction of salt.

SECTION III.

FINLAND—PETERSBURG.

Aland Islands—Abo—Present State of Finland—Svea-borg—Wiborg—Petersburg—Original Intention of Peter I.—Consequences of the System he adopted—State of Society—Nobles—Slaves—Tribunals of Justice—Emancipation—Education—Charitable Foundations—Court—Theatres, &c.—Government—Public Feeling with regard to present Politics—Trade—Manufactories — Employment of Foreigners — The Mint—Paper Money—Its Depreciation—The probable Cause—Commerce—Siberia—Embassy to China —Academy of Sciences—Casan Church—Religion—Sectarists — Superstition — Religious Ceremonies on Easter Eve — News of the Capture of Paris — Te Deum, Illumination, &c.—The Emperor—The fugitive Princes of Georgia—Severe Cold—Neva breaks up—Ice of the Ladoga descends—Return of warm Weather—Rapid Vegetation—Promenade—Orders of Knighthood—Imperial Palaces—Cronstadt, &c.

ON setting foot in the Aland islands we passed the frontier of the Russian Empire, for so the line of its boundary was settled by the treaty of 1809: it is singular, that notwithstanding their vicinity to Stock-

holm, so dangerous in case of a rupture, the Swedish government has not since taken occasion to reclaim these important posts, for there was a time when Russia could not have refused to cede them.

Our arrival at the first town, called Eckero, was of course succeeded by a visit from the customhouse officers to examine our baggage, and to demand (according to law) whether we had any Russian paper-money in our possession; for to carry it into the country, it seems, is, by no unwise policy, made an equal crime with its exportation. We satisfied them that we had none, and our passports having been procured before from Petersburg, as was necessarily the case with every foreigner, the governor of Eckero (a lieutenant in the Russian service) was fully satisfied with the production of our documents.

The island scenery appeared, as we journeyed, even at this time, beautiful; the dark lush of the fir formed a strong contrast with the silvery fleeces of snow

that roofed the forest, and the whole seemed to have assumed a new charm in this livery of winter. Our road was an undeviating line from place to place, no obstacle presented itself; we passed over the fields, through the woods, across the ice; hill and dale, land and water, were all alike: sometimes we traversed the rocky channel of a deep-bedded river, at other times wandered among the inlets of a lake, at others again steered our way between the islands over the open sea. The path was traced out on shore by large poles headed with straw, over the ice by boughs of trees, stationed at intervals, drawing a long thread over its surface that in some places reached to the very edge of the horizon; we were skirted, indeed, by one of these hedges in our passage across the Delet, for the distance of more than twenty English miles, without any land intervening.

The burden of providing these necessary marks is a duty that falls upon the inha-

bitants of the several parishes respectively; notice is given at the church as soon as the ice may be reckoned secure, and certain distances are allotted to the share of each individual. Without such an arrangement all communication would be entirely at an end, not only during the long winter nights, but every time that the snow was falling, or that a mist should arise to intercept the sight.

The cottages of the islanders were rough-hewn log-houses, and they were themselves people apparently of such simple manners and habits, as their secluded situation and scanty number might lead one to expect: each rustic householder was provided with the tools and implements of a dozen necessary arts or professions, performing for himself with equal address the duties of carpenter, shoemaker, tailor, fisherman, baker, miller, &c. So little was the division of labour studied, or the appropriation of means, that we observed the corn-mills almost equalled in number the houses of

the villages; they were cheap and of simple form, acting by sails constructed of wooden planks, and their mill-stones shaped like the querne, or old Celtic machine for grinding with the hand. It happened at one village indeed that our money was viewed with indifference, because the opportunities of laying it out were so rare, and we were told that any article of food or clothing which we might be able to spare would be much more thankfully received.

Luxuries, such as ochre paint for their cabins, or coats of woollen cloth, where sheep-skins would suffice, were not common. Caps of the most ordinary fur served as covering for their heads; and as for their feet, the want of shoes was supplied by a mis-shapen bag of dried seal-skin: the harness of their horses consisted of nothing more than a plain collar attached to the shafts of the cart or sledge; the horse's neck was thrust in, and he had nothing to do but proceed: the contrivance, it must be added, answers all

the purposes of draught, because neither here nor in Sweden is the animal trained to resist the weight of the carriage on a descent, however steep it may be.

Very little grain is produced: the chief dependance of the people is placed on the purchases they are enabled to make at Stockholm by the sale of their wood. For our own subsistence, it was absolutely necessary to carry with us our provisions; coffee being the only article of luxury which they had hoarded up for the use of a chance traveller. We cut off our meat and bread, as occasion required, from our store with a cleaver or hatchet; and having been dressed at Stockholm before we set out, the beef steaks, &c. were unfrozen by the application of cold water, then placed for a few minutes in the stove-oven, and served up to table as if fresh from the hand of the cook. Our wine and brandy underwent a partial decomposition, and the watery particles were converted to a core of ice; nevertheless, after what we had before

endured, the weather could not now be called severe, except during a few hours of the night, and these accidents were regarded but as so many agreeable novelties that relieved the weariness of our journey.

Four days were spent in our passage, when we once more set our feet on the continent, and after a short stage arrived at Abo, the great university of Finland, where we thought a halt for a short time might not be ill requited.

The first establishments for literature were founded during the minority of Christina in 1640; but the buildings of the college have been lately renewed at the expense of the present Emperor of Russia: nor was his generosity confined to the act of giving alone, but with a truly liberal spirit, he has deigned to follow the plan that was intended to have been put in execution by Gustavus IV. There is a plain edifice, constructed with the red granite of the country, containing the several lecture-rooms, a library, a consistory, and a hall

for state occasions; the last in an unfinished state, but shewing great promise of magnificence. It is adorned with some beautiful columns of polished granite, and (as we particularly remarked) with the bust of its intentional as well as its real benefactor. There were also six *bas reliefs* in compartments on the wall, executed by a pupil of Sergel, and neither deficient in taste nor spirit: their subjects were illustrative of the history of learning in these parts, and commenced with a fable from the Edda of the miracles of Vienamunda, the Finnish Orpheus, who taught the bears (the undoubted aborigines) to dance to the sound of his oaten pipe: the series finished with a representation in prospect of the ceremonies that were yet to take place on the solemn inauguration of the Emperor Alexander.

The professors are eighteen in number, and enjoy each a salary of 4000 roubles per annum from the crown, besides ten from every student attending the lectures.

The number of these is large, since a degree at an university is made a necessary qualification in Russia for attaining not only the inferior offices of state, but becomes also a title for a certain rank in the army; one year's residence, however, is here requisite in order to obtain it.

The cathedral is a plain edifice, though erected in a more tasteful style than Abo Slött, or Castle; the latter indeed only deserves the traveller's notice as being celebrated in Swedish history for the capture of John III. by Eric XIV.: after which, by a singular reverse of fortune, it became for some time the prison of Eric himself.

On Sunday we attended divine service in the Lutheran church, for this is the prevalent religion here as in Sweden: the officiating minister, previous to his concluding prayer, read out to us with an audible voice a list of the births, deaths, and marriages of the preceding week, as we had observed elsewhere to be the usual custom. His succeeding catalogue somewhat sur-

prised us: he recounted the sales of houses made, or about to be made, and then added the directions of the unclaimed letters now lying at the post-office, with some other notices of a similar description: it is a singular practice, but nevertheless one that is infinitely useful in such a country as Finland; and I must add in compliment to the piety of the Fins, that certainly no other mode of publication would have given these matters an equal chance of notoriety.

The solemnization of marriages takes place only once a year, and that on a fixed day in the teeming autumn. Before this time arrives, the expectant lover is not permitted, by the custom of the land, to pay his addresses in person to the object of his wishes: his offer is made by sending a piece of money, that is accepted or not as the fair one is inclined to approve or reject his suit; but both the conveyance of this token of love and the whole of the after-ceremonials of courtship are carried on through the intervention of some old

woman of the village, whose occupation and calling may seem enviable to some bustling gentlewomen in other countries, being that of a regularly established match-maker.

We first heard the sound of the Finnish language* at Varsala, in one of the Aland islands: it was a matter of astonishment to recognise again the Swedish tongue upon our reaching the third stage from Abo; and on pursuing our journey we found it prevailed for a considerable distance: it is possible that this change may only have taken effect on the coast in consequence of the former frequent communications by sea with the Swedes; but the fact of its existence has been authenticated by better evidence than the cursory observations of a traveller.

The Finnish is by no means so harmonious as the Swedish language, which may

* This language has the peculiarity of being without prepositions; to remedy which defect, the cases of the nouns are varied to the number of sixteen.

be called a softer dialect of the German; its roots indeed are from a different stock, and it is well known to be nearly the same as the vernacular language of Hungary; bearing also, in common with that tongue, the strongest affinity to a dialect spoken in some parts of the north of Asia.

For these several nations, however remote their present settlements, are traced to one common Scythian stem. The ancient Ouigres of Siberia, a short time before the Christian æra, separated themselves into two distinct hordes; the Uni-ouigres wandered to the north, the Tokos-ouigres to the south, fixing their capital not far from the city of Turphan. From the migrations of the last arose the Huns; from the former the Samoyedes, Vogouls, Ostiaks, Tchouvaks (Livonians), Tcheremisses, Permians, Fins, Laplanders.

Upon a general view of their condition, the Fins are not much improved (the rustics at least) since the days when we first hear their names mentioned; and the short

pithy description of Tacitus is often quoted in allusion to their present habits and character. It would be unfair to expect much of such a nation, considering that, in addition to the incapacitating rigour of their climate, they have, for a great part of the intervening ages, laboured under the subjection of their more powerful neighbours; the continual prey of the kings of the Goths and Vandals on the one side, or of the Emperor of all the Russias on the other. We hear no more of their native kings after the time that Eric II., at the close of the ninth century, added Finland to the crown of Sweden.

I do not know that their late annexation to the Russian dominions has been productive of any symptoms of discontent or ill-will; the peasants in Aland, it is true, complained of the exactions of the soldiery, and, generally speaking, their honest prejudices seemed to incline them in favour of the government they had been so long accustomed to obey. Yet the more wealthy

and thinking classes cannot but feel the advantages of their present situation: incorporated with a more powerful state, they are delivered from the perpetual dread of seeing their country made the seat of war: their trade and commerce is more free, and more liberally encouraged; while, as far as it can be made compatible with the Russian system, they are granted the exercise of their ancient liberties, customs, and privileges—for the policy that attends the Russian schemes of aggrandizement, in this respect as well as others, is ever that of the Roman conqueror.

Still farther to conciliate the people, several other allowances have been made in their favour: not only are they exempted from furnishing draughts for the army, but they were relieved from taxation during the first three years after the act of incorporation; all previous arrears were also cancelled, and of the sums now levied two-thirds are made payable in kind, at the option of the individual. The amount

is greater than what they formerly paid, but in part only nominally so, by reason of the depreciation of the paper. A still more beneficial regulation of the emperor is, an order that the whole of the sum thus raised should be expended in the improvement of these provinces alone, whereby much has already been effected for their benefit. Among other schemes set on foot, two banks were set up at Abo*; one for discounting bills, and one for uttering notes: to the former, as it would be some time before any great profit could be returned, a donation was made of 100,000 roubles towards establishing a fund—a sufficient proof

* The chief trade of Abo is in timber: it was now reckoned dear; a piece of eight yards in length, and squaring upwards of one foot, was in value 6 R. D. B.

Small timber: two pieces of ten or twelve yards in length, 1 R. D. B.

Posting: six copecks per verst, or two-thirds of an English mile.

Day labour 24 schillings. Corn per coul 12 R. D. B.

200 denuscas = 100 copecks = 1 rouble = (in paper) 10½d. English.

of the good conduct of the government towards this people. The excellent effects of these establishments have been very generally felt, and it is said (by the Russians at least) that no bankruptcy has taken place at Abo for these last four years, though failures were frequent before this golden æra.

The minister, to whose hands the administration of the provinces of Finland was entrusted, was at this time himself a native, the celebrated Count Armfeldt, *Chevalier* (as his style runs) *de tous les ordres du Nord.* He was once the favourite and bosom friend of Gustavus III., and for many years a leading character at the court of Stockholm, as well as a distinguished commander in the field.

There is a military governor constantly resident at Abo: the office was now filled by General Count Steinhill, the same officer who was the *chef d'etat major* of Benningsen, during the war of 1807, and who lately had so honourably distinguished himself un-

der Wittgenstein in the defence of Riga. It is our duty to acknowledge the civility and attention which we received from him during our stay.

On the 2d of March we set out on our road for Helsingfors, whither, notwithstanding the reputed celerity of sledge travelling, we did not arrive till late in the following day, though the distance was no more than 220 versts. We had scarcely finished our meal and settled ourselves in our apartments at the hotel, when the church bell tolled, and the muffled drum was beat with a tone that sounded mournfully amidst the stillness of a winter evening; it was for the purpose of announcing to the public the appearance of one of the greatest subjects of dread in these countries—a conflagration. Our curiosity led us out of doors, where a strong bright flame issuing from a distant island, which we were told was Sveaborg, pointed out the source of alarm, and seemed to direct the steps of the crowd that was rapidly assembling from

all quarters. On arriving at this place, we found that a large house had taken fire from a wooden windmill, which (as is the custom) was affixed to its roof. The building was in a short time consumed to ashes: little other mischief, however, ensued; although it would be impossible to compliment very highly the skill of those engaged in extinguishing the fire. Though they were militia-men, and of course inured to some notions of the advantages of regularity and order, it was with great difficulty that we were able to induce them to form a line for the sake of passing the buckets in succession; they seemed highly delighted, however, when this was done, and grinned upon us, for gestures on our sides had supplied the place of words, in token of their gratitude. A sight of this nature is never devoid of certain features of grandeur and sublimity, and the peculiar circumstances of the place rendered it here wonderfully striking: the glare of its pale light reflected over the snow for many a

dreary mile, added to the general confusion and hurry of the moment, presented a scene that amply repaid us for our trip of five versts, even during this weather, over the frozen sea, and was a sight which no lapse of time will ever efface from my recollection.

About two years ago a similar accident occurred at the town of Helsingfors, for it is built of wood, and was attended with consequences infinitely more destructive.

The emperor, however, shewed his usual generosity in making a loan of 100,000 R. to the sufferers on handsome terms; repayment was required to be made by instalments, and the whole to be completed in the course of twenty years: the houses of the town were in consequence already rebuilt, and, for the most part, in a neat and comfortable condition.

On the following morning we revisited the fortress, and, by favour of a letter to Admiral Badisco, were permitted to view the place. The harbour, whose surface we

had traversed on this excursion for near four English miles, is capable of holding sixty sail of the line or more. It is protected by six islands, strongly fortified; the three largest of which, being connected together by bridges, compose the fortress of Sveaborg. The works are partly formed by blasting from the granite rock, and partly built of masonry from the same material: they mount upwards of 800 pieces of cannon, and contain barracks and casemates for a garrison of 12,000 men, so that ample provision is made in this respect for its defence.

The fort commanding the passage of entrance occupies the crown of a cliff that rises to more than forty feet of elevation above the sea, and displays a prodigious shew of ordnance. At the foot of this, on the southernmost point, a well has been sunk through the rock, from whence, for nothing is wanting to complete the strength of the place, the garrison may be at all times supplied with water. With these

advantages it is singular that a strange instance of neglect occurred in its construction, the island rising on the other side of the passage, which is too high to be brought under the guns of any part of the fort, not having been occupied by fortifications: but the Russian government have projected a scheme of improvement, which will probably embrace this spot amongst others; it is their intention also to make alterations in various parts of the works that are defective in many essential points. They were first constructed by Ehrensvard, a Swedish engineer, in 1748, and will ever stand as a curious example of the insufficiency of the best measures which political foresight is able to provide for its ends; for it is a fact, that notwithstanding the boasted strength of these works, they have not, at any time of trial, afforded the least advantage to the government which bore the expense of their erection; but were given up to Russia by treachery, both in the first and second wars of Finland.

At the back of this island is another large fort, and below this are the rope-walks, the naval arsenals, &c. There were also eight docks intended to be covered for the reception of frigates of the largest class: though they were now incomplete, nothing appearing except the pillars that were to form their sides. A large flotilla of gun-boats and some small ships were moored in the bason; the former chiefly drawn on shore, and the latter, for security's sake, moated round by a channel that was daily sawn out from the ice, to prevent the injury that would otherwise ensue to their hulls from its expansive force. This, however, seemed an ordinary precaution. The other works and buildings that covered the rock, with the walls erected on the northern side of the fort, being of wood and earth, were not worthy of remark.

After our walk we had the pleasure of dining with the hospitable admiral, who spoke English extremely well, an accom-

plishment, however, that is by no means uncommon in the Russian navy, since many of the officers have at one time served in the British fleet. Dinner concluded, we sallied forth again, and partook, for the first time, of the amusements of the ice-hill, the merry-go-round, &c. and what was still more diverting, made a trip over the sea in a vessel moving with skaits on the ice: it was a frame of wood laid down as the deck of a ship: two skaits were placed under the bows, and a third, being moveable on a pivot, supplied the place of a rudder: for obvious reasons, she was rather awkward in her *stays*, and unless her crew shifted their seat from one side to the other with great adroitness, was infallibly overset. Her motion was tremendously rapid, and she was calculated for a complement of twenty or thirty persons: the snow was necessarily to be cleared out for her track, and the length of the voyage therefore was of a limited extent, but the circuit was ingeniously enough carried in the form of a

pentagon, so as to enable her to take advantage of every wind.

All these preparations for public amusement were now deserted by the Russians on account of the fast of Lent, which is kept by the Greek church with the strictest observance.

We finished our evening at the little theatre of Helsingfors, which was fitted up for the accommodation of the less scrupulous Swedes, and at night resumed our journey. Our next hundred versts were, in appearance, dreary and lonely, both by night and day: here and there the distant tinkling of the sledge bell of some chance traveller or courier met the ear, or occasionally the voice of the peasant at work with his snow-plough to clear the road. A dry look of inquiry was usually exchanged on either side, after which one relapsed into one's former state of apathy, and nestled in a cloak of fur, until lulled to sleep by the incessant droning sound of the sledge. Except this, every object around

bore the aspect of uninterrupted solitude: with regard to scenery, the same interchange of rocky hills, frozen lakes, and forests of fir, wrapt in one universal mantle of snow, accompanied us every where, that scarce may be said to afford any variety capable of giving substantial relief to the eye.

Fredericksham was one of those towns whose appearance of fortification reminds us that the country is of some political importance, an idea that unless for such occasional hints would hardly be held in recollection by the stranger. At a short distance from its gates, we passed the bridge which once marked the point of separation between Swedish and Russian Finland. It claims a sort of historical notoriety from the mad caprice of the late Gustavus Adolphus, who, outstripping the limits of his jurisdiction, ordered the half of the bridge on the Russian side, as well as that on his own, to be painted with the Swedish colours: this pitiful act of aggres-

sion afterwards formed one of the pretexts of a war that led his country to the very brink of destruction, and, by its consequences, deprived the ancient blood of Vasa of their inheritance.

However vague and ideal these marks of geographical boundary may appear, it must be allowed that on passing the line an almost instantaneous difference is every where apparent: the inhabitants of this province have assimilated themselves entirely to the taste and manners of their conquerors, and being mixed with numerous colonists, are now become a truly Russian people.

On waking at an early hour after a sound sleep in my sledge, I gazed with wonder at the spectacle that presented itself in the streets of Wyborg: the glare of white houses, their green roofs and oriental cupolas, the noble mansions of the wealthy, and the religious fane, all so spacious and splendid in comparison of what we had lately been accustomed to see; and yet

above all, the new costume of the by-standers dressed in long blue caftans, their bare necks, their flowing beards, their sash, cap, and boots of red, were altogether objects so singular, that the spectacle impressed itself on my mind rather as a dream of the morning than as a scene of real life.—The men seemed quite another race of beings; no longer the modest homely Fin, but persons of strong masculine habit, carrying a stubborn and listless mien, that, combined with their majestic stature, seemed by no means devoid of dignity: while the coloured ornaments with which they were set off lent them an air of grotesque magnificence, not ill according with the shewy buildings that surrounded us; every object, in short, which met our eyes, partook of the same character, and bore a hint of Asiatic origin.

We strolled about the town for some hours in contemplation of these novelties, and employed ourselves in taking a survey of the castle, which is an interesting build-

ing, and of other remains of the old town. If we are inclined from its present aspect to make any inquiry about the past, it will be necessary to recur to the Swedish history, and to those times when Russia held a different rank from what she has now attained in the scale of European nations.

Wyborg was founded by Birger Jahl in the thirteenth century, as a military hold that should enable him to check the increasing power of the republic of Novgorod Veliki, or the great, so famous in the annals of that day. It was probably sufficient to answer his purpose in a defensive view, and little more was to be expected: we hear its name but seldom mentioned afterwards till its capture by Peter I. in the year 1711, when its possession was thought necessary to ensure the security of the new metropolis. Its fortifications still remain, though somewhat in a dilapidated state, and are now regarded as of little use.

On quitting the environs of this town, all the gaudy splendour we had so much admired instantly vanished, and we found ourselves again transported to the forests, and the rocks, and boundless regions of snow. The villages we saw were of the meanest appearance and character, for whatsoever in Russia is not made for display and show is poor indeed; and by our recollection of the different state of things we had left behind, Sweden was now as much raised as she had before been sunk on comparison. Instead of the neat-built red-ochred cottages, the road-side was disfigured by large dismal huts with walls made of the round trunks of trees barely stripped of their bark, and resembling, externally, a casual pile of timber, rather than a human dwelling. The interstices of this frame-work were caulked with moss and clay, and though a few glazed windows were seen, their place was generally supplied by square open crannies. These structures called to mind the

first rude efforts of primitive man after he left the shelter of the forest oak, and looked as if age after age had passed over the heads of the people without their attempting any improvement in the arts of civil life. The ancient Russian Chroniclers, who speak of the founder of any place as having *cut the town (roubitgorod)*, might easily be supposed to be describing in that phrase the builders of the present day; so little different is the modern process: and the felling of the timber, in fact, is the only part of the labour which a peasant thinks it behoves him to calculate when about to erect his habitation.

The roads being more beaten as we advanced towards the capital, were, in some parts, worn bare to the balks that formed their substratum; in others, where the snow had drifted, they were furrowed with deep hollows interposed in succession for a considerable distance, giving an undulatory motion to the sledge of the most unpleasant sensation. But even without any

additional grievances, a speedy termination of our journey was an highly agreeable prospect at this season, and it was with no small joy that, as we descended from the last of the hills of Finland to the woody plains of Ingria, we discovered the white line of the frozen sea crowned with the steeples and domes of Petersburg.

A wild uncultivated tract was now traversed for about twelve versts, when on a sudden we found ourselves ushered into the *fauxbourgs* of the town, and again enjoyed a glimpse of Russian grandeur. Here all that we saw was on a great scale indeed; for, after making a short distance, we passed to the banks of the Neva, and came at once in sight of the glory of the fairest city of the world. It was a scene at once gay, lively, and sublime; replete with every fancied ornament that taste and wealth could bestow, it united in the same view all the elegant symmetries of Grecian and Roman art, with the gorgeous pride of the East.

The Marble Palace, the Imperial Winter Residence, the Admiralty, the Isaac Church, the Academy, the Fortress, and a thousand other sumptuous edifices, rose on either side over the quays of granite, and lined the long perspective till it was almost lost in the distance. Their colours were varied but harmonious, and the white surface of the river lying between them was spotted with a thousand figures, which flitted in rapid succession before our eyes. To add to the pleasure arising from this spectacle, we were fortunate in the state of the weather; it was a serene, tranquil sunset, and the departing ray glancing through the avenue of a lofty colonnade which rose in our front, shed a blaze on the gilt spires and domes around us, that brightened with fresh lustre the gloomy splendour of a winter evening.

It is not possible to give an account capable of pourtraying faithfully the surprise and astonishment generally experienced by the stranger, who, after the wild

country he has just quitted, enters the city of Petersburg: its effect would be stupendous even without the aid of this contrast: whatever beauties may have been shadowed out by imaginary anticipation, every idea falls short of the excellence of the original, and every former relation one has heard seems to describe it in terms of admiration far too cold. It is a city of new-built palaces, where the residences of individuals vie with the effusions of imperial magnificence, and where the buildings, destined for public works, hold a rank of ostentation still more striking, and are of a magnitude well agreeing with the mighty concerns of this vast empire.

In the middle is the quarter of the Vassiliostrof, built on an island formed by the river, and connected with the city on either side by bridges of boats: on the right bank lies the old town, with the cottage of Peter I. yet standing; on the left is the new town, divided by three canals, taking their course in a concentric semi-

circular direction through the several quarters of the place, and furnishing, with their bridges and quays of granite, and balustrades of iron, many additional embellishments to its general appearance. Nor are they merely ornamental, for, besides their use as drains to the swamp on which the whole is built, they afford a vent to the inundations that sometimes arise from the temporary accumulation of the waters of the gulf under a westerly wind, and which, about half a century* since, had so near overwhelmed the infant city.

Three long, straight, and level streets (one of which, St. A. Newsky, extends five versts) branch out from the centre of the Admiralty, where the lofty gilt spire and dome form in each line an object for the termination of the vista. These streets are again intersected by others to the north and south, almost uniform in their direc-

* In the year 1777.

tion, but varied here and there with frequent and handsome esplanades.

The houses are (like those of most cities on the continent) built of brick, faced with stucco: the composition is not liable to be destroyed by a humid atmosphere like that of England, yet the changes of weather, from the extremes of heat and cold, have a material effect on its durability; it generally, indeed, requires repair at the end of two years. The gay dwellings are coloured white or yellow, and finished with roofs of thin iron plates painted of a black, a red, or, as is the favourite mode, a green hue, being a tint that is procured from a mineral oxide of copper at no great expense. As for their distribution, it is the same as that generally adopted throughout the continent. The chief apartments for the reception of company are on the first or second floor, commonly the latter, while the ground-floor, the cellars, and perhaps the garret, are tenanted by the lower class of people. The court-yard too, for they are

mostly laid out in this fashion, contains various inmates: this is a mode of lodging the poor which I have before remarked adds greatly to the beauty of foreign cities, since no mean dwellings are in sight.

Foreign artists, Italians, and others, who have been attracted hither by the lucrative patronage of the court, are, for the most part, the authors of every architectural design that is executed: and nothing can exceed the models that are given of taste and style; barely to mention the objects worthy of description would be to draw out a tedious and fulsome catalogue of magnificence.

There are a few wooden houses in some quarters of the town, but these cannot by law be built higher than one story: their appearance is, owing to this circumstance, not so mean as it otherwise would be, and they are usually constructed so as to cover a large extent of ground.

The fashionable promenade of the *boulevards* consists of three avenues of trees,

carried round as many sides of the Admiralty, an enormous specimen of Russian magnificence, being a building which exhibits perhaps the longest regular *façade* in Europe: it is more than a quarter of an English mile in extent, adorned at intervals with six several porticos, and surmounted, rather fantastically, it is true, with a thin, taper, gilt dome and spire. The air of this structure is at present much disfigured in front by the ramparts and ditch with which the mad Emperor Paul caused it to be environed, though situated in the very heart of the city. The back is open to the river, and occupied by the dock-yard and slips for ship-building.

Immediately below the *boulevards* is the Isaac Place, where stands the equestrian statue of Peter the First. This work, which is by Falconet, in itself, perhaps, possesses no extraordinary merit, but derives its chief celebrity from the gigantic mass of granite that forms its pedestal, and which was brought, as is well known, with great

mechanical skill and ingenuity, from a morass at a considerable distance. Its weight was 1600 tons, but the original size is much reduced, and its shape impaired by the injudicious application of the chisel. A large block is also added on one side, which still more impairs the effect of surprise intended to be excited on the spectator's mind on beholding this mighty miracle of Catherine's reign.

On the 16th of May, 1803, on the day that completed the first century since the foundations of the city were laid, an interesting exhibition was made on this spot. The centennial jubilee was announced by peals of ordnance from the fortress, the ringing of bells, and all the demonstrations of a grand fête: the hulk of the first ship built at Petersburg, being yet in existence, was brought down the river and moored opposite to Peter's statue; and close alongside of her lay a new ship decorated with flags, streamers, and garlands, whose launch had taken place that very morning.



STATUE of PETER the first in the ISAAC PLACE, PETERSBURG.

London, Published by J. Murray, Albemarle Street, Feb.ʳʸ 1810.

A solemn military procession succeeded, and 30,000 troops of the line in parade uniform, with colours flying, and accompanied by bands of martial music, defiled around the hero's effigy.

It is worth while to pause here a little on the reflection which such a spectacle must naturally have suggested at this day, and on the designs of the great monarch who bade the race of savages start at once into civilisation, and called to birth this enchanted city from the midst of a desert.

His schemes are grand and imposing; nevertheless, in spite of the proud aspect which such a place affords, and the wealth and power and consequence that its erection has produced to the empire of Russia, its real advantages may have perhaps been somewhat overrated by the warm panegyrists of its founder.

It is beyond a doubt that it was not his original intention to have erected his new capital in this situation; a plan is pre-

served in the Imperial Archives which details a scheme for building a great city at Nisni Novgorod, and fixing there the imperial residence. Seated at the conflux of the Volga and the Oka, in a country the most fertile, and in a central point that would have united the seat of supreme power with the natural focus of commercial circulation, it would have possessed numerous advantages that Petersburg can never attain; while, in another point of view, its locality would have enabled the government at all times to check and overawe, with little effort, the several more remote parts of the empire.

With regard to Petersburg itself, it was not, it is said, his intention that the place should have increased to that disproportionate and unwieldy bulk to which it has latterly been forced, in spite of the disadvantages of its position. He meant to unite here the court and the mercantile world, but never could have wished the in-

flux of settlers to be so great, as in some measure to curtail the benefits of his commercial scheme.

A port opening to the Baltic (for as yet he had not possession of Riga) was necessary to him, and he was constrained to seek a spot whose remote situation might secure him against the hostility of Sweden; but this very circumstance, as it carried him to an almost inaccessible place on the utmost verge of his dominions, infinitely augmented the difficulty of supplying* his city with provisions, as well as entailed upon it other numerous disadvantages. It has not failed indeed to have the effect of enhancing the prices of all articles, both to the inhabitant of what he buys from the peasant, and to the peasant of what-

* The supply of cattle is chiefly from the Ukraine, and the necessary article of grain from the provinces of the Volga: even of firewood near 200,000 fathoms are annually brought from a distance. A scheme for the improvement of the bogs and wastes in the neighbourhood of Petersburg has since this period been commenced under the direction of an English experimentalist.

ever he carries back in exchange. Thus the value of colonial produce and manufactures, and every thing which the people of the country stand in need of, is increased in more than a fair proportion; and we must observe that the effect of an inordinate augmentation of prices in this way is very different from that which is the consequence of a more intimate and more abundant circulation of wealth. No doubt I shall run some risk of contradiction in making the assertion, but it appears to me, I must confess, that if the project before mentioned had been carried into execution, or indeed had the moderate schemes of reform projected by Gallitzin (the minister of Sophia) taken place, instead of the violent and immature changes which this mighty man effected, Russia would have grown, in the quiet and natural order of things, to a state of power and command, that would have in time developed a force capable of inspiring dread to all the nations of Europe. In her present circumstances

I cannot suppose that there really exists so great and immediate a cause for alarm as some speculatists are wont to imagine. Men and money do not constitute national power and wealth, but the efficiency of one, and the circulation of the other: her population, is, as we see, scattered and dispersed, and her circulation slow and irregular. As matters are now arranged, however great the natural resources of Russia may be, her internal state prevents her from enjoying them to their full extent; some few examples indeed of the moral disabilities under which she labours will be detailed in these pages. There is no other government in Europe which has so little command of money in proportion to the real wealth of the country, and none which has so small an available military force in comparison with the amount of her standing army: the system of peculation and corruption which prevails is alone sufficient to paralyse her powers in every branch.

Oppressed as she is by an autocratical government, with an all-powerful nobility, with an half digested feodal system, with an incapacitating spirit of corruption in every branch of administration, with foreigners in possession of every post of honour or profit; it is not too much to say that Russia has reached in the present reign the highest pinnacle of rank and power which her circumstances can ever admit her to attain, and should an alteration in her system be contemplated, it is hardly possible from such a *melange* of incongruities to augur that any change should be lasting, or productive in the end of consequences really beneficial to herself. The imperial authority, now omnipotent, will hereafter find itself unable to check the influence of knowledge and sense of partial liberty that daily diffuse themselves more and more throughout the nation. It requires no great foresight to predict the divisions and factions that must ultimately arise from

the irregular distribution of wealth and power over so enormous an extent of territory; and wheresoever accident shall cast the balance, it will be an easy task of ambition to throw off all dependance on the semi-Russian capital: the storm is now perhaps preparing, and every fresh act of aggrandisement brings nearer the hour of dissolution.

The country is by no means free from the seeds of internal discord: the superficial style of education that prevails is peculiarly fitted for the reception of unsteady principles; while even the warmth of their patriotism itself, (than which no feeling is more easily led astray), may serve only to aid the purposes of malignant and evil designing adventurers.

As to other prospects, and the view in which her preponderating strength may be regarded by her neighbours, it should be remembered that Russia has not hitherto been able to bring into the field an

army * capable of overwhelming any one of the superior states of Europe: though supposing that she were, still, in the existing state of the civilised word, it is not by the inroad of numerous hordes that European independence is threatened, but by the country which shall have advanced to the highest degree of eminence, activity, and skill, in arts and in science, in intelligence, in wealth: this superiority alone can ever justly be looked upon with fear, and, notwithstanding the laudable efforts they have made, the Russians cannot be said even to approximate to such a state at this epoch. The nation has made great efforts, but there yet remains much to be done. It

* The military peace establishment of Russia has been made the subject of great alarm of late. It is not true, however, that the army is kept up to the same strength as during the war: the annual levy of men (two in five hundred) throughout the empire has been twice dispensed with, viz. in 1816 and 1817, besides which a Russian army is in general at least one third more numerous on paper than in reality.

was well answered by a foreigner to a person who asked why the old style was still adhered to in the Russian calendar; in order, said he, that they may imagine themselves only twelve days behind the rest of Europe, when in fact they are a whole century in arrear.

But notwithstanding this, such is the covetous system of encroachment which Russia invariably pursues, and such her insatiable policy, that in spite of appearances we must not be lulled into security; affairs may take a different turn from what their present aspect seems to promise; and even in case our surmises prove well founded, it should be held in mind that the dissolution of so mighty a mass is not in itself an object to be viewed with unconcern, but its fall may involve many others also in destruction, and encumber all Europe with the ruins.

Having here alluded to the progress of civilisation, I must add, that it is not intended to convey any undue satire upon

the Russian people, who have been already calumniated more than enough, both by English and French writers. General conclusions have been drawn from particular instances of misconduct or meanness; habits common to all the continent have been quoted as peculiar to them alone; and manners and usages that really were their own, and from that circumstance deserved a milder judgment, have been exaggerated into heinous crimes, with the most indecent acrimony. In other instances different ranks have been confounded, and sketches of high life given by those who appear seldom to have mixed with even the better classes of society; while facts, which only appeared in a bad light from the temporary irritation of the traveller's mind, have been misquoted and applied as evidences of the real Russian character; although nothing could be more out of place than the idea of *generalising* on the subject.

Besides this, allowances are to be made

for the unintentional errors which even the most accurate observer is liable to make, in consequence of the singular spectacle which the inhabitants of this country afford. They are a people, half European, half Asiatic, who, from a state of barbarism, have been forced into immature civilisation, and whose frame of society has been injudiciously re-organised on principles borrowed from nations of the highest refinement and polish. Under such circumstances, the same laws are frequently productive in their operation of a totally different, perhaps opposite effect; and their results manifested in a shape not always intelligible to the eye of a foreigner. Were they a race of savages, one might reason on their moral condition as philosophers; if a community perfectly refined, as politicians; but their present state baffles the usual modes of inquiry, and is referrible to no scheme of analytical rule whatsoever. Many of the laws and cus-

toms appear, at first sight, contradictory to themselves, and repugnant to the general system of order and policy, and certainly they do not correspond to the idea we form upon such subjects; but upon more mature observation, when even a short residence has given some little insight into the nature of things, we shall find these regulations admirably calculated for the genius and character of those to whom they are addressed, and to contain the only principles that are in fact well suited to their condition. Frequently, again, in a case where we object to the conduct of some individual, we shall discover upon reflection that he has not only acted after the manner of the rest of his countrymen, but, under existing circumstances, chosen the best and wisest course which it was in his power to adopt. We cannot, therefore, in such a state of things expect to receive much information from those who blame every thing which con-

tradicts their own way of thinking, and shut their eyes against all investigation which may involve a new idea.

Looking to society in Russia, we shall find that there exists in fact only two distinct orders, the nobles and the slaves. The interval between these classes, as far as the ordinary purposes of life are concerned, is filled up by foreign residents, who once exclusively negotiated all the more lucrative branches of commerce, and now participate them with only a few of the natives. It is true that some slaves have received their liberty, and they have been said to compose a *tiers état;* but they are in number so few, when compared with the mass, as to be scarce worthy of mention, and are so far (politically speaking) from forming a class apart, that they are unable to sustain the place in society which they ought to occupy: the very act of manumission itself is considered as prejudicial rather than advantageous to a man's interest; he becomes an isolated

creature, whose rights and privileges are neither known nor respected; he is unable to protect himself, and being without a claim to the guardianship of a seigneur, soon falls a prey to the rapacity of the police or other corrupt administrators of the government.

The privileges of a nobleman consist in being exempted from military conscription and from corporal punishment, in having the right to establish manufactories, to possess land and slaves, to impose taxes and to inflict chastisement upon them, &c.; while their charges are only light, consisting in the furnishing recruits to the crown, and in paying a certain fee on the alienation of their property. The titular nobility are numerous, because the titles descend to all the children; but besides those who enjoy the above-mentioned rights by inheritance, these advantages are attached to certain stations in the civil and military lines: assessors in the chancery, for instance, and all officers of the army or navy, are called

noble, though it must be understood that the power of the possessing slaves is limited to persons above the rank of major. The imperial companies of trade at Petersburg, also, participate certain of these immunities, and are allowed to use carriages with one pair of horses, for even that sort of indulgence is regulated in this country by law.

Among the hereditary nobility are many families of high antiquity. The Gallitzins claim descent from the dukes of Lithuania, the Dolgorucki (once princes of Tchernigoff), as well as the Bielosovski, and others, trace their line to the conqueror Rurick, the founder of the Russian sovereignty; with these are several that date their titles from the reign of Peter, of Catherine, or of Paul, when new creations were not unfrequent, in consequence of the predominant system of favouritism. An anecdote of Suwarrow bears ample testimony to the capricious patronage of the last mentioned monarch. It is related, that seeing a ser-

vant pass by, dressed in a smart laced livery, and set off with a cocked hat of the accustomed Russian dimensions, he uncovered his head and bowed to him most courteously. A friend standing by, thinking the field marshal had saluted this person through inadvertency, informed him of the error, adding, that it was no other than a valet to whom he had shewn such profound marks of respect. "It may be," said Suwarrow, "but the valet will, per-"haps, be made a count in a month or "two; strange things come to pass; he "will be a great man at court one day or "other, and an old soldier may, perhaps, "have need to solicit his protection."

All distinctions of family, however, were confounded, by one levelling act that took place in the reign of Feodor Alexievitch, the predecessor of Peter the Great: the numerous records and pedigrees of the nobility were collected by imperial command, and in order to put an end to the feuds and quarrels that daily arose from

contention for precedence, were consigned to the flames together; one step more was taken in the succeeding reign, when the titles of kniaz (generally translated prince), of count, and of baron, lost their several pretensions, and all ranks were subjected alike to the standard of military office, exciting by this means a passion for a martial life, that has since proved well suited to the schemes of Peter's policy. The system is not attended with those ridiculous inconveniences that some persons have supposed. It sounds singular, no doubt, to our ears, to be told that the maids of honour are major generals by virtue of their office, and on looking at the choir of the chapel royal, to be informed that his excellency the singing master has the same title: yet the distinction is, in fact, but a nominal one, and answers the same purpose as any other rule of priority which might be made the basis of a table of precedence. An unmarried lady, in the service of the empress, must have rank in her own person,

and the discretion with which it is bestowed, either in this case or in the other, depends only on the etiquette observed at the court, or the value which is attached to such a name. The name of general does not give any command in the army to those employed in the civil service, or even the liberty to wear the military uniform; and if that line is afterwards adopted by a civilian, the transfer is made according to a certain rule of exchange; a *conseiller intime*, with rank of major general, enters the army as a major only; a *gentilhomme de chambre*, with rank of lieutenant colonel, enters as a simple lieutenant, and others in similar proportion.

The power exercised by the emperor over all these classes of the nobility is of as extraordinary a nature as the dominion of the latter over their slaves; neither can they marry without the imperial consent, or select for themselves a profession; and their property, though by more indirect means, is in some sort subjected to the

same authority. An instance of this lately happened: a certain nobleman indulged his passion for ostentation by giving a splendid entertainment to his majesty, at Petersburg: well knowing the embarrassed circumstances of his host, the emperor inquired whence the funds for this expenditure arose: he was answered, humourously enough, that the expense was very trifling; the whole was afforded for two hundred roubles, being the amount of a duty which was laid upon the stamps necessary for the sale of land. This was at the moment well received; it passed off, and no more was said. But lo! on the following day an ukase issued forth, ordaining that no court of justice should admit the prosecution of any claims whatever on this nobleman's estates, dated after the promulgation of the same; whereby it became impossible for the prodigal to borrow more money, since he could offer the lender nothing but an unprofitable security; and the hereditary possessions were preserved by a de-

spotic though salutary act, for the inheritance of his children.

It was by a similar stretch of paramount authority that certain lands, the subject of long contest in the courts of law, between the Dolgorucki and Havansky families, changed alternately from hand to hand five times during the course of the last century, according as one party or the other happened, at the time of prosecution of their suit, to be highest in favour at the imperial court. But occurrences of this sort, it need scarce be added, are not frequent, though the power still remains.

The private fortunes of some individuals are of an enormous extent, such as are met with in scarcely any other part of Europe; they are equal in nominal amount to the incomes of the wealthiest proprietors in Great Britain, and when referred to the comparative scale of the prices of articles in each country respectively, must be pronounced infinitely superior in real value. Their expenditure also corresponds with

their means, or not unfrequently exceeds them; but habits of shew and magnificence are now grown upon them as a part of their nature, and are impossible to be restrained. Every thought with a Russian savours of greatness; all about him bears a striking and imposing air; he neglects the observance of those minutiæ that compose the real comfort of an Englishman, and is delighted with a dazzling aspect, because it suits the sphere of his ideas. They are as yet a young nation, and better pleased by shew than reality. Generally they are accused of too great a fondness for ostentation, and it is partly true; but we must confess, it is always the splendour of an hospitable and liberal mind which they exhibit; the pride of display does not shew itself in a coarse luxuriant profusion, but is regulated in each branch with taste and elegance, and supported by the introduction of the choicest articles from every quarter of the globe.

As a specimen of the grand style of en-

tertainment, that which was given by Scheremetov to the Emperor Alexander after his coronation, affords a memorable example; when the road from the capital to his seat in the country, for the distance of several versts, was lighted with lamps for the convenience of 10,000 guests that were invited to the feast.

The head of this family is reputed to hold the largest possessions in Russia; his property consists of (in their mode of calculation) at least 125,000 slaves.* Of this number, near 6000 are employed in his domestic establishments in different parts. It is not the custom, indeed, to retain more than thirty or forty servants at a residence in Petersburg; but in the country, where they are generally far removed from towns,

* This is the usual mode of computing wealth in Russia. The value of a male slave (for these alone enter into the calculation) may be at an average about 150 roubles; but the price differs in each province according to the value of its produce or the scarcity of hands: in some parts the value has been lately enhanced, by the drain of the war, to upwards of 500 roubles.

&c. an household of 500 or 600, or more, is not uncommon; these serve the several occupations of surgeons, butchers, bakers, tailors, shoe-makers, &c. &c. and sometimes a company of comedians is added, a band of musicians, *cornes de chasse*,* and perhaps half an hundred footmen and valets. For these separate duties they are selected without discrimination; their destinations are made out, and they are accomplished for them by the means of the cudgel.—Their power of imitation, however, like the skill of mimicry, which savages always possess, seems to render them equal to the undertaking, whatever it may be: and the veriest boor taken from the country seldom fails in performing the task which is allotted to him, at least in a certain way.

The sulky obstinacy with which the brutified creature withholds from his superior

* In these bands each man is furnished with an horn, and sounds only one note; the number, therefore, of such a band of musicians is unlimited, and generally amounts to sixty or seventy at the least.

whatever is in his power to secrete, prevents the possibility of individual adaptation of innate talent: it is almost the only case wherein he is able to gratify his mind by an exhibition of his natural rights, and his determined spirit of concealment is carried to a length inconceivable to those who have never experienced the obduracy of this class of people.

A stranger perpetually meets with a similar sentiment of opposition in the most ordinary occurrences. The temptation of money itself is often unable to move their stubbornness, when they know he has no right of compulsion. But let them be once possessed with the idea that he has, and no farther trouble ensues. In England, pay a man, he will do whatsoever you require: in Germany it is necessary to add, that he must; and in Russia to give a blow.

Such is the moral state of man under this system of degradation: these miserables are as much depressed below the or-

dinary conditions of humanity, as their lords are elevated above their natural rank; and each (for all here is in extremes) are furnished and cultivated in a scale according to their respective ranks: the noble is ever a man of external polish, the slave a beast unredeemable.

It may seem hard to lavish abuse on this class for faults incidental to the life which they are constrained to bear, but it is impossible to have seen them, and to give another picture consistent with truth. They are characterised in general by a sentiment of acquiescence rather than of content, by an untameable passive courage, and a species of cunning that shews as a natural instinct; in other respects they are usually cheerful and good-humoured in their conduct to one another, and have at least a feeling of superstition for their God.

If we look to the natural consequences of this order of things, we shall see that the arbitrary dominion of their masters, their power of taxing the industry of the peasants,

is productive of as much debauchery and fatal extravagance in the higher orders, by the temptations it holds out, as of wretchedness and poverty in the lower, by the calamities it creates.

In another point of view, this iniquitous system does not fail to operate in a mode highly prejudicial to the accumulation of national wealth. The pressure of the hand of extortion acts very differently from that stimulus of ambitious industry which urges a constant and well-regulated exertion: its very nature is forbidding, its want of order destructive, and in the rough mind of a Russian peasant it displays itself in any thing rather than a beneficial feeling. Who indeed would work uncompelled while aware that the increase of his possessions can only afford fresh temptation to the rapacity of his master?

Suppose the owner of an estate has lost money at the gambling-table, his wants must be supplied, and the *obrock* of his peasants is raised. Upon this the

wretched rustic will weep and stamp, and tear his head, but it avails nothing, he has not a soul to whom he can pour forth his complaints, and he gives a vent to his farther violence in the passion and ardour with which he pursues his work. He thumps the oxen at the plough with increased vehemence, or, in a fit of temporary rage, throws on his own shoulders a double load of sacks: in a few minutes he becomes tranquil at his labour, his passion works itself off, and he resumes his song with an appearance of resignation which shews obligation and compulsion to be so familiar to him, that the burdens they impose cease to be a source of grief. After some days of this extraordinary labour, he gratifies himself by a commensurate season of indolence; and he indulges himself to satiety with drink and sleep.

In Giles Fletcher's account of the 'Russe Commonwealth,' published in 1591, is the following observation on the consequences arising from the extortions of the nobility,

'this maketh the people (though otherwise 'hardened to bear any toils), to give themselves much to idleness and drinking, as 'passing for no more than from hand to 'mouth.' It is curious to see how little improvement has been made in the lapse of more than two centuries since the day when he was sent on his mission to Moscow. The truth is that all changes (except a revulsion in the order of things is attempted) must take place in the higher classes before they are felt in the lower: but in Russia there is no point of contact between the two. Peter I. commenced his reform by polishing the nobles; when he should have laid a foundation for his plan by the gradual formation of a middle class, and then commerce, and knowledge, and polish, would have followed of course.

Some assert that, as is said of spaniels, when well treated and well beaten, this breed of men are capable of affection for their masters: but their conduct depends on points of more vital consequence than

any feelings which give rise to mere personal attachment, and they display marks of a well-grounded anxiety when any change is threatened in the property of the land they inhabit.

Mons'. ——, finding himself in embarrassed circumstances, proposed to sell a part of his estates in order to extricate himself from the unpleasantness of his situation. His peasants had long experienced in him a kind lord, and the first moment that his intention was made known, entered into a subscription among themselves for the sum of 250,000 roubles, which they tendered him in a body, soliciting only in return as an indemnification for the advance of this sum, that their *obrock* or rent should not be increased for the next ten years.

Another similar instance of the sentiments produced by good treatment happened about this time: the town and estate of Sloff on the Dnieper was offered for sale at the price of 12,000,000 R. The

vassals, who were informed that a certain person of bad character and much involved in debt was about to negotiate for it, immediately held a meeting, and, with the assistance of the resident Jews, made up the purchase money, after which they passed an unanimous resolution to offer it to the amiable Countess B——. The terms required, if she chose to accept their offer and buy the estate, were simply an annual interest of 5 per cent. upon the principal, with promise of repayment in the course of ten years.

On the other hand, it is not difficult to multiply stories of an opposite nature: in one account cruelty and vanity are mixed up together, and the female sex, than whom none more amiable in the whole world are to be found than in Russia, are selected as objects of abuse. Thus a gentleman paying a morning visit, finds a certain lady extremely ill; we are told how she lay in this state on a couch of velvet, arrayed with rich ruffles of Mechlin lace, with sil-

ver ewers placed before her; but this shew of luxury availed her nothing, she was suffering under the most acute pain, and had, it appeared, burst a blood vessel, in consequence of the violence she had herself exerted in beating one of her male slaves.—A second person will speak of the cruel Madame Soltigoff, who was confined at Moscow for murdering her servant; or of another lady who imprisoned her hairdresser for six years before her death, that no one might discover the secret of her false wig. These, however, are stories of old times, and if true, only serve to shew what have been the consequences of such evil conditions of society as are here maintained. Slaves are beaten and pillaged beyond a doubt, but instances of wanton cruelty are not often heard of; and if one or two persons are pointed out as having the reputation of ill-treating their people, this fact is, in itself, a proof at least that the vice is rare.

The slaves may be divided into four

sorts—the peasants of the crown; those of the *economy* (belonging to the estates of the clergy, being administered by the crown); those that are given out of the emperor's levies to the proprietors of mines for their use; and lastly, those who are the property of individuals. The two first are in the best condition; a large proportion of them are employed in the post and other public labours, and, in general, their state admits of much more ease and comfort than that of the others: the third also are under certain terms by which the severity of their burden is relaxed; but the fourth division, or great body of peasantry, suffer a heavy bondage.

The general statutes relative to all the four classes are the same: they have no existence in the eye of the law, and since their property (even their wives) belongs to their lords, their insignificance so far protects them, that no one can sue a slave for a debt that amounts to more than five roubles; though the case is altered if the

peasant is furnished with his master's passport, or permission to trade. They cannot marry or leave their village without his consent. They are imprisoned and suffer corporal punishment by his order: and it is only lately that a law has been promulgated for the purpose of bringing the master to justice in case the slave should die within twenty-four hours after receiving chastisement. Certain provincial establishments, called marshal's courts, have also been made, where slaves may appeal against their lords: their inefficiency under present circumstances may be well imagined, but their existence is at least a proof of the beneficent intentions entertained by the crown towards this class of subjects.

The village peasants pay soccage service, and receive (much as in Germany) certain allotments of ground from the *starosta*, or elder of the village, on behalf of the seigneur. For permission to cultivate this, they pay a fixed *obrock* or rent, which

amounts in general to ten or twelve roubles per ann.: on the crown lands however it is not higher than eight, and what is of more consequence, the slaves have full confidence in their superior, and know that it will not be raised beyond this sum, even if they should hereafter thrive in wealth.

The seigneur, on his part, is obliged by law, as well as by a regard for his own interest, to support the peasant during illness or under misfortunes, and this same consideration is their chief protection against his avarice and rapacity: perhaps some of the stories above cited might lead one to suppose that these people had something which they might call their own, but it is only by sufferance of the seigneur, and through the fear lest he should be left in the same condition as the man in the fable who killed the hen that laid the golden egg.

There is a village chest supplied by general contribution, by which are defrayed

all the charges for maintenance of the sick and aged, as also for mending the roads, for furnishing clothes and accoutrements of the recruits of the army, &c. as well as all demands to which the seigneur is liable by law: a mode of provision, perhaps, more equitable in practice than if the payments were directly made by the seigneur himself; as it would only form a pretence for raising the *obrock*, and be liable to much mismanagement and peculation on the part of his agents. The fund is now made up by subscription from each individual, and amounts in ordinary to about three and a half roubles annually per head: besides these sums, little is required of them; they have only to pay a small capitation tax to the crown, according to a census that is revised once in ten years. Their condition, therefore, under a kind landlord, is capable of much enjoyment and ease.

Their chief food is coarse rye bread and broth or *schtschi*, but in several of the more fruitful provinces they fare extremely well,

eating meat three or four times a week. It may be said generally with truth, however, that in countries where food is plentiful, the poor are well fed: though this fact does not seem to have been attended to by all travellers. Russia affords instances of both kinds, and the statement of the happiness of some has nothing to do with the general terms of their condition.

An increase of family is an increase of wealth, as adding to the means of cultivating their allotments of ground; and under this hope it not unfrequently happens, that where the priest is base enough to connive at the practice, the father espouses his son, while yet an infant, to a girl of mature age, and himself performs the matrimonial duties. This is but one more example to add to the numerous instances of immoral conduct that accompany these degrading conditions of humanity.

Hitherto the life of the rustic peasant alone has been alluded to, but other chances and ways of life are open to this class. If

a slave wishes to try his fortune in a new line, he solicits a passport or leave to emigrate from his master's estate, and betaking himself to some town, tries his luck in any way that offers itself, as a servant, an artificer, a pedlar, an hewer of ice, or drawer of water; or sometimes, if possessed of a little stock, he sets up a small retail shop, raising himself by degrees to higher and more lucrative concerns of traffic, and finishing perhaps his career as a great merchant at the capital. Under any of these circumstances the *obrock* is increased: settling in a town the gains of the slave are necessarily supposed to be larger than in the country, and his expenses on this head, including both the tribute and the additional stamps, &c. amount to perhaps more than thirty roubles per annum; this again is augmented in proportion to the growth of his wealth: and there are instances of those who pay an annual sum of a thousand roubles, or even more. One of the chief commissaries of the army is now a

slave of Count Orlov; and there is a slave of Prince Sheremetov who possesses a manufacturing establishment near Petersburg, where he finds employment for upwards of 4000 brother vassals; though of course the concern is carried on under the name and protection of his master. The architect of the Kasan church was a slave of Count Strogonov, working on a passport; and many of the boys now studying at the Academy of Arts are of this description, placed there either by their masters, or at the expense of their friends: for even in case a nomination from the crown cannot be procured, the expense is but trifling, amounting to only about 500 roubles per annum.

The grounds on which persons in these situations still continue their state of vassalage have been above mentioned. Emancipation indeed does not often take place except in the cases regularly provided by law, and they are not numerous. All the clerks, &c. employed in public offices be-

come *ipso facto* free: all soldiers and seamen (though these are not discharged till after twenty-five years of service) have the same privilege. Their wives too are free, as also the children born after the commencement of their service: these latter are taken care of and educated in the regimental schools, generally qualifying themselves for the situation of *bas-officers*, which they seldom fail to obtain. Notwithstanding such apparent advantages, the peasants shew great unwillingness to enter the military or naval service, and frequently desert to the forests in order to escape the vigilance of the officers appointed to conduct the levy.

The generosity of the present emperor, who has been brought up by his preceptor in the principles of Swiss independence, would gladly set free the class of peasantry in general; and even forget in the zeal of his wishes that tedious accompaniment of necessary conditions which alone can make any great innovation really beneficial to his

country. A plan was suggested no long time since for the manumission of a certain number of villagers, granting them each a portion of land, on condition of their being bound to pay the fee-simple within the space of ten years: but their moral state is such as not to admit of the application of the principle laid down in this project. It was wisely alleged in objection, that the habitual indolence of the Russian peasant militated strongly against the adoption of such a scheme: he has not been accustomed to exert himself uncompelled, and no doubt the greater part of the body placed in these circumstances would revert to their former state of indigence and slavery, from inability to fulfil their compact.

Two ukases have been promulgated in the reign of the present emperor, to limit the costs and charges for the necessary agreement between the master and the slave, and its conditions are ordered to be communicated to his majesty: but encou-

ragement alone is insufficient to promote the great work of emancipation, and it is thought* that some farther steps are in contemplation by the government. Whatever measure shall be proposed, it will necessarily meet with much opposition from the nobility, who are, for the most part, attached to the *good old* course of things, and wish to see affairs in no other than their present state. So difficult is it to eradicate existing prejudices, and so hard to persuade any class of men that private interest and the public good are in reality ever inseparably the same.

Much has been done with a view to remove the general ignorance of the peasantry, that forms a second obstacle to any great improvement of their state. Gymnasia†, schools, and academies, were erected

* The peasants in Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland, have been set free by an ukase of the year 1818. The condition of those in Livonia was peculiarly hard.

† So far back as the year 1806 the minister of public instruction stated in his report the number of establish-

in most of the towns for their instruction by Catherine II., nor have they been unsuccessful in their way. If, however, it might be allowable to hazard an opinion on a subject so delicate, it would, perhaps, be wise that the fetters should be loosened (in some part at least) while their ignorance knows not what freedom is: no intoxication of the moment will occur, no visionary enthusiasm will be able to insinuate its poison into those minds that are not capable yet of being opened even to delusion. The use of liberty will come with time, and it will come mellowed by that gradual experience which moves hand in hand with the progress of the more substantial schemes of amelioration.

As to the testimony of history, the Russian chroniclers inform us that the system of feodal vassalage was introduced

ments for education throughout the empire at 1022, viz. six universities: 43 gymnasia in the chief towns of departments: 442 secondary schools in the district towns: 296 parish schools: 235 private academies.

by the Tartars, when they conquered this country; but that the strict laws which restrained the emigration of the peasantry, and gave their bodies to their masters, were enacted in consequence of the turbulent spirit of the times that prevailed, when so many impostors, under the name of Demetrius, successively laid claim to the crown, that they might be prevented from joining, as before, the standard of every fresh adventurer. However this may be, there have been different accounts given in different countries of the origin of similar rights; but they seem (for all the conquering hordes were from the East), to have been not altogether unconnected with the usages of the Asiatic nations in general, among whom the property of all lands was vested in the person of the sovereign. It is somewhat worthy of remark, that the feodal system is not any where found in so full vigour at the present day as in Russia, Poland, Bohemia, and Mecklenburg, coun-

tries which were chiefly peopled by the Slaves or *wenden.*

Under a prudent system of management, sooner or later it may be imagined possible to effect the great object of emancipation here: but there is another evil no less injurious to the public weal, no less offensive to morality, and no less destructive of the powers of industry, that it will be found far more difficult, if not impossible, to remedy. There exists a system of bribery and corruption throughout every public department in this country that exceeds all belief. It is a mischief, no doubt, inseparable in its nature from the principle of a despotic government, and has been felt here from ages the most remote. Even in the time of the great reformer, Peter I., we read of Prince Menzikov's second conviction before the senate for peculation, and we are told he was sentenced to pay a heavy fine to the state, and that the emperor promised to take the corporal punish-

ment into his own hands; when his excellency, the governor of Ingria, accordingly underwent the discipline of the cane.

It would not, perhaps, be wholly irrelevant to mention the injudicious conduct of the government in paying their officers so ill. The salaries in many of the civil departments have been augmented, but in the military and naval services the same nominal sum is received as the allowance which was fixed by an ukase of Peter I., although the prices of articles are risen to more than twenty times the value they bore in his day. A captain in the sea service now receives no more than 400 R. per annum, a sum equal to about 20*l.* sterling. How is it to be expected he should maintain himself? Of this, however, I know nothing; but into those departments by which the administration of the country is carried on, the profligacy of the late reigns has introduced an open and avowed system of venality, to which no other European country can find a parallel.

It is to Catherine II. this evil must chiefly be ascribed. She was in the habit of granting public situations to the friends of her upstart favourites as places where they might amass a fortune, to gild over the lowness of their origin by wealth and profusion; while every act, even the most infamous, was authorised and accredited, so as it afforded a prospect of pecuniary recompense. The same practices have been indulged, and even increased, with the spirit of the times.

The police, from its inquisitorial nature, has infinite sources of gain; they sell the liberty of the press, defraud the stranger, plunder robbers of their stolen goods, and receive fees alike of the accuser and the accused. Provincial officers favour the wealthy merchant with the permission to introduce contraband goods; and again, out of the number of slaves sent by the seigneur for the imperial levies, they select the empty-handed peasant for military service: in the former case, the agents of the custom-house step

in also for their due share of pillage; in the latter, the surgeons and *procureurs* follow *pari passu* the example of their superiors. It would be endless to attempt a catalogue of these enormities, all of which; nevertheless, custom has sanctioned with, as it were, a prescriptive right. The sums paid are regarded only as regular fees or perquisites of office: the functionaries themselves have been bred up with the knowledge of no other system, and are surprised to hear a foreigner say that acts which are done openly every day can savour of illegality or injustice; in fact they do but follow the principle and common basis of every branch of the Russian government.

It will be sufficient for illustration of these circumstances to relate an anecdote or two, connected with the administration of justice, as being the most material of the several public departments.

An American merchant sought redress by law for some unfair dealings on the

part of a Russian trader; the lawyer whom he retained came to him on the second day after his application—"I have," said he, "opened the prosecution, and will fairly "relate the present state of your case: the "judge says your cause seems fair and "equitable, and you offer 5000 R. to the "court; he would, he admits, wish to in-"cline to your side, but, on the other "hand, the defendant offers 10,000. What "can he do?" The American laid down immediately 10,000 R. it was taken to the *Tribunal of Justice*, and he triumphed over his opponent.

Another gentleman instituted a suit for the recovery of a debt, but offering no bribe, the case was of course held to be perfectly clear, and he was non-suited; the defendant, in the plenitude of victory, then commenced a process against him for defamation, and damages were found to the amount of 300,000 R. with a farther punishment of a sentence to clean the sewers, because, forsooth, it was a Russian

magistrate whose fair name had been thus brought into question by the object of the action. Upon this the gentleman appealed to a superior court, but with ill success; they confirmed the verdict, and still farther added to its iniquity by sentencing him to undergo flagellation. The matter now grew serious, and he made application through an high quarter to one of the presidents of the senate; the cause was heard again, but the result was of another nature: the sentences of the former tribunals were instantly reversed, the debt recovered, and the officers that had sat in judgment on him came in a body submissively to beg his forgiveness, and entreat him to pursue the inquiry into their conduct no farther.

These acts of injustice were not, however, committed merely because the appellants were foreigners; for the ordinary conduct of the courts towards the native Russians is of a stamp precisely similar. A few years since a relation of Prince —— came from Moscow to claim his patrimo-

nial inheritance, that was withheld from him by his guardian. Arrived at Petersburg, he met by accident with one of the highest officers of the law on a visit at the house of a relation, and after some conversation on indifferent matters, ventured to open his case to him; he received for answer that his suit might probably occupy 8 or 10 years consideration, but, added he, 'follow my advice, sacrifice a part of your property to save the rest, and you shall be put in possession in the course of as many days.' He then wrote down a list of fees to be paid to the several members of the court (himself included), and gave it to the young nobleman, who, on his part, obeying this friendly monitor, came on the following day as plaintiff to the senate with his petition, and presented each of these functionaries with the sum specified, wrapped up in the body of his papers. The event exceeded his expectation; in four days time an award was given in his favour.

A similar looseness of principle* is displayed in many other public acts, that seems by long habit almost to have become essential to the nature of the Russian government. The police, the guardians of the press, and censors of the literary world, extend their dominion over all its departments, and limit the notification of political events to such a degree, that their mode partakes of the nature of a falsification, rather than of a concealment of facts, while they draw long inferences by misconstruction, which prevent the appearance of many an useful work, in its nature perfectly harmless. They suppress, on the most ungrounded suspicions, the manifestos of foreign courts, and in their own

* If a body of troops subsidised by another country are found to fall short of the stipulated number; or if ships sent under similar agreement (as those lately to Spain) are found scarcely sea worthy, we are not to presume any intentional dishonesty on the part of the government: it is by the agents employed to execute their orders that these frauds are committed.

domestic state papers cause a new gloss to be given to the statistical reports as well as to the despatches received from the army; in the latter, the returns of killed and wounded are never suffered to be made known; and the general detail is of a description that seldom meets with much credit even among their own people.

A story is current relative to a bulletin of Suwarrow in his Turkish campaign, who preferred making his own mis-representation to such a garbled statement as the police would otherwise, no doubt, have prepared for him. After the affair of Persan, he ordered his secretary to draw up an official account for the gazette; the faithful Cossack (for such he was) proceeded to narrate the whole engagement most circumstantially; here the Russian positions, there the Turkish; here the advance, there the retreat, and so on; in fine, of the Turks were killed 300, of the Russians 2000. Suwarrow regarded him for an instant. "It is well done," said he, "a

" plain story enough, but I must confess " you do not seem to have reflected much " on the nature of your subject: the Rus- " sians, remember, are our friends, we must " spare them; write down 250 killed; but " the Turks are infidels, and we must ut- " terly exterminate them; write 22,000:" the unjust servant did as he was commanded, and the despatch appeared in due official shape.

But we may quit this subject for others of a more pleasing nature. A philosopher might be drawn, naturally enough, to enter into a disquisition on the comparative state of the arts and sciences in Russia; but without engaging very deeply on the subject, the most trivial observer cannot fail to remark the different progress made by the one and the other. Newly extricated from barbarism, the infant mind is seized with the desire of pursuing whatever strikes the fancy, or serves to interest and amuse, while the labours of more rigid science and learning are entirely thrown

aside. We find at Petersburg few men of abstruse acquirements, yet musicians, poets, and painters in abundance; and the nation has arrived in these arts, it must be confessed, at an highly reputable pitch of perfection. Their works of art, though not fraught with the spirit of originality of the southern professors, yet display, in almost every branch, the most correct and refined taste; and the natives even shine in competition with foreigners, though the prejudices of their countrymen have denied them a fair share of patronage.

The academy of arts is fostered by the superintendance of the crown, and from the revenues allotted to it is well furnished with models from the antique, as well as other matters suited to its institution. The labours of the students exhibit some of the highest specimens of imitative excellence: their designs in architecture are of great merit, and their pictures possess a free style of execution, combined with chasteness and harmony of colour, seldom equalled in any

modern school. Ygorow and Zuboiof rank among the first; their productions are in the style of *pastici*, but the combinations are excellent, and their mechanical dexterity in the art is admirable. The sketches of Orlovski again possess infinite spirit; Korlossky and Martos also, as sculptors, display qualities of a still higher description.

In the province of poetry they have not so much to boast, if it is fair to judge through the medium of translation.

Their music is for the greater part here, as elsewhere, modernised on the Italian taste. The simple national airs, many of which are preserved among the peasants, and indeed in a few pieces of the composers of the present day, are of a singular style, without any regular cadence, breaking into transitions the most abrupt and irregular,—" 'Tis sad by fits, by starts 'tis wild." At first their modulations strike the ear rather with surprise than pleasure; yet some examples have a gran-

deur and simplicity about them, that, it must be confessed, is wholly their own.

Men of letters and science are not much valued for their acquirements among the higher classes, or even considered as of a condition to intermix at all with their ranks. But being chiefly foreigners, they are, by a liberality peculiar to the nation, always entitled to a certain degree of esteem.

From hence it may be imagined, that the mode of education for boys, according to English or German ideas, is very defective. The tutorage of a French Abbé at home, (though the person employed is not always of this description) and a short residence at one of the universities, is the only chance given to the son of a man of consequence for pursuing the belles lettres, or for acquiring any other knowledge than such as may be picked up in society. A school that was lately established at Petersburg by the Jesuits received considera-

ble encouragement. This sect never was banished from the empire of Russia, and we might have prophesied that they would now make a good return for their reception into the country. It appears, however, that by officiously interfering in religious matters, and diverting the minds of their pupils from the principles of the Greek church, they have incurred the imperial displeasure, and since the period of my residence have been publicly expelled from Petersburg and Moscow.

The system of education adopted with those brought up in particular lines, naval, military, or commercial, is of course under good regulations; but it is that destined for the unprofessional ranks of society, or what is called the liberal formation of a gentleman, which meets with so slender provision. The purposes, indeed, for which knowledge could be acquired are so limited in extent, as to hold out but few inducements for any one to make himself a proficient in such subjects as would fit him

for public employment. The civil service of the crown is confined to a certain number; and an active mind, unformed, is constrained to seek either a frivolous occupation or a mischievous one. This accusation, it will be urged, may admit of more general application than to the case of Russia alone, and be referred to the greater part of the continent. It is only in Great Britain that we see, from the peculiarity of her constitution, a due measure of employment allotted to all, the greater part too in its nature gratuitous and honourable. There the course of parliamentary duties, the attendance on special committees, &c. and, in another line, the very active parts of the magistracy assigned to men of affluence in a country life, oblige the English gentleman to look to acquirements of real and practical knowledge, as the most obvious source of distinction, and to study the forbidding points of abstruse and dry subjects from the incitements of fashion and honour; and the upper ranks

of society in general become as they should be, the real leaders of the nation.

The nature of our education in public schools may be added as another peculiarity which contributes towards the early formation of our national character; and it is one among the usages and customs of Great Britain that strikes all foreigners with a more than ordinary degree of admiration: neither the academies nor universities of the continent, though places of resort at an early age, can be looked upon in the same light with these institutions; and it may be well supposed that there is a wide difference between the spirit generated in a school of little men, or in an university of great boys.

The girls, however, in Russia are brought up with a degree of attention proportionate to the neglect with which the other sex is treated. The *Couvent des Desmoiselles nobles*, and the Institute of Catherine, both flourishing under the patronage and per-

petual inspection of the Dowager Empress, are the chief seminaries at Petersburg. In spite of the repugnance and timidity of the female character, a public examination is held every three years at each of these establishments, when such of the young ladies as have completed their education exhibit their various accomplishments before a very numerous assembly. All the grand officers of the court and the *corps diplomatique* are invited to attend, and every mark of notoriety is given to this display. In order also to excite competition, those who have made the greatest progress receive the decoration of the empress's cypher in diamonds, which is carried on the left shoulder—a badge of honour they are proud to wear during the rest of their lives.

This ceremony, unfortunately, had taken place about a month previous to our arrival at Petersburg; but we were partly recompensed for this loss, being gratified

with a private display of the several classes of these schools by permission of the Dowager Empress.

The convent contains two separate establishments, one for the education of 260 girls, daughters of the bourgeois, and the other for those of the class of nobility. The period of education is about nine years, during which time they receive instruction in the French, German, and Russian languages, in the Russian history, in natural philosophy, in music, singing, dancing, embroidery, writing, arithmetic, and geometry: two young ladies, indeed, (much to our surprise) during the course of the last mentioned lecture, gave us the admeasurement of a polygon, with very good mathematical phraseology; but natural philosophy appeared, by universal confession, to be the favourite study, and was frequently pursued even after quitting school with great eagerness. I hope it will excite no envy in the breasts of such of the fair sex as patronise the Royal Institution in

London, if I relate that one evening dropping into the house of a lady of very high rank, in Petersburg, we found her party employed in a deep discussion, treating of the polarity of rays of light, and the late discovery of the magnetic property of the violet. This circumstance was, however, purely accidental. The system of education they here go through, places the sex above the wish of making any ostentatious display of their attainments; and with regard to every other qualification that may adorn the character of women, there is no stranger who visits Petersburg without bearing witness to the elegant manners and the unaffected graces of the Russian ladies.

Some persons, no doubt, will question the policy of these establishments, and it is true that out of the large number placed in the convent, many will be necessarily brought up in a style with which their future condition of life may not well assort; part may be destined to pass their lives in

the country, others will form connexions in marriage below their apparent rank; but at the same time, in the present stage of civilization of Russia, certain advantages may result, even from the exuberance and superfluity of learning among the sex.

The last room we visited afforded one of the most interesting sights I ever beheld: the whole society were ranged in the hall at the hour of dinner; they were dressed in their plain and simple habits of white, brown, and blue, the distinguishing mark of their several classes, the whole amounting to more than four hundred in number; and when on a signal given the hymn of praise swelled along these fair ranks of youth and health and innocence, the sound burst on our ears as a touch of something more than human, and filled our imaginations as the voice of an heavenly choir.

It is but a few years ago that the beautiful and accomplished daughter of Poniatowski, the late king of Poland, was living at this seminary, where she had passed the

greater part of her life, as yet unsullied with the world, and as yet unacquainted with the nature of that high rank which she had once seemed destined to fill. It happened that one day a young Polish nobleman, possessed it seems with the courteous aspect and high breeding that usually characterise the unknown knight of a romance, made his appearance to claim her as his spouse, alleging that they had been betrothed together in their infancy. He called at the convent, was admitted to her presence, saw, and loved; the dowager empress approved his suit, and he led her directly from her school to the hymeneal altar.

There are many other institutions of this sort at Petersburg, supported by the government, of which the deaf and dumb asylum (regulated on the plan of l'Abbé Sicard), the orphans and widows asylum, and the school where boys and girls are educated for the theatre, are the most conspicuous after the two above mentioned.

The public hospital is under an admirable system of arrangement, both with regard to the cleanliness and comfort of the inmates. The bedsteads are all made of iron, the apartments are well kept and ventilated, each being superintended by widows from the military asylum, who are required by their rules to perform a certain routine of charitable duty at this place.—The revenues arise from the surplus profit of the Lombard bank, and amount to 105,000 or 120,000 roubles per annum; by which means provision is made for upwards of 200 people in the house, and assistance given to about 15,000 out-patients. It is worth stating, as a point of comparison between the two countries, that at St. Bartholomew's hospital in London, about 6000 persons are relieved annually, of whom 440 are generally within the walls: but this is not effected at a less expense than 27,000*l.* per annum. The want of such aid is nowhere more strongly felt than at Petersburg; the doors were

beset by an host of applicants during our visit here. It was observed to us, that the most ordinary cases were those arising from scrofula, in consequence of the impoverishment of the system by the severity of the climate, and the want of sufficient nutrition in the aliment of the lower and poorer classes; and indeed the remark was confirmed in other similar establishments. I must here add that a special board, called the College of Provision, is erected in every province throughout the empire for the superintendance of these charitable foundations: it has received considerable funds from the crown to be applied to these purposes, and their endowments have been in many cases largely increased by private benefactions: there is, perhaps, no country in Europe where the liberality of individuals is so much exerted, unless in Great Britain*.

* A considerable subscription had been made here for the relief of the fugitives from Moscow during the late disasters. The town was divided by the managing com-

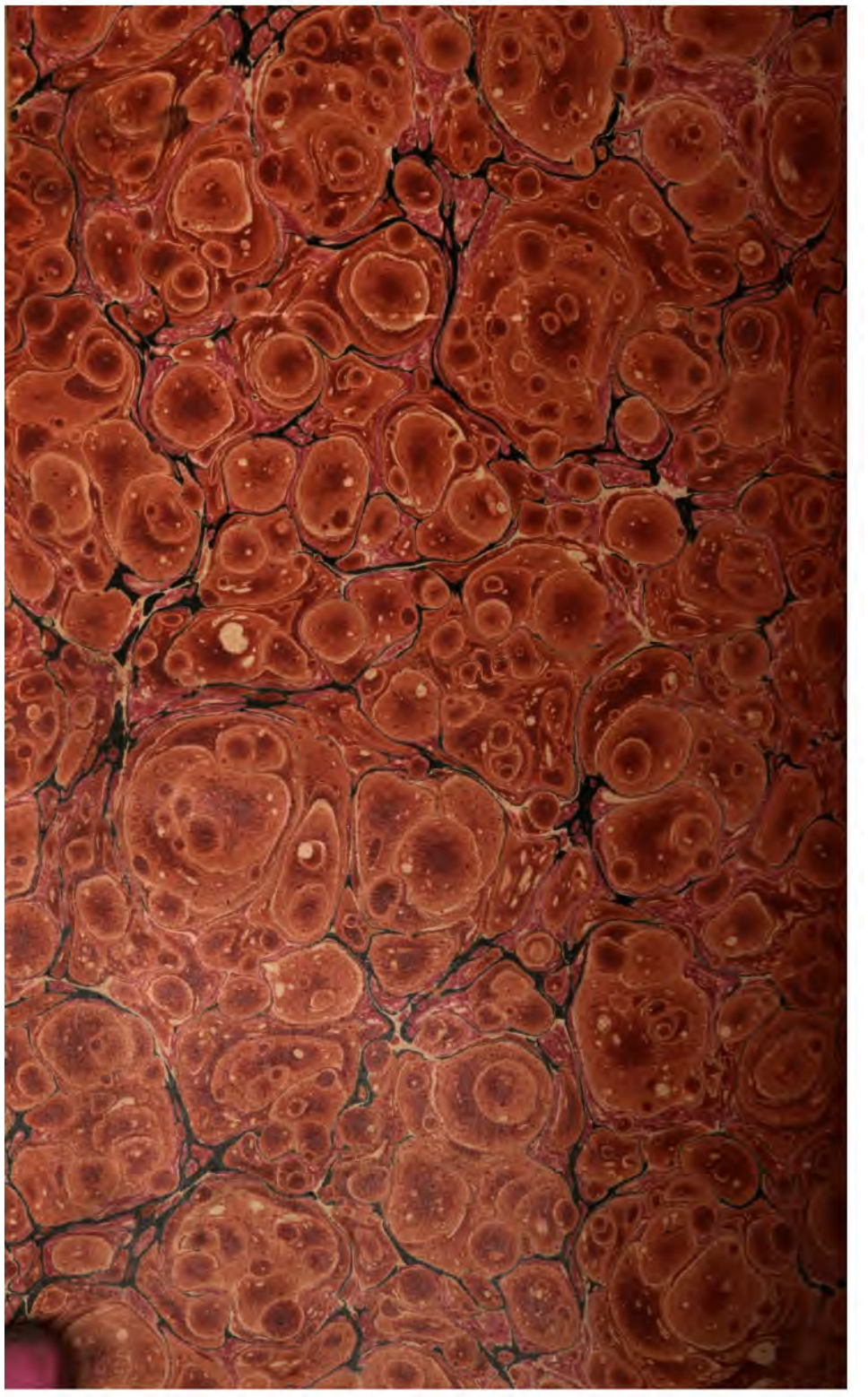
The Foundling Hospital, though inferior in magnitude to that of Moscow, has been much celebrated, and our curiosity naturally led us to its inspection. The number of children on their lists is about 6,000, of whom 600 are kept within the house; the expense incurred upon the whole amounts to 40,000 R. per annum. Upon being sent hither they are immediately vaccinated, and when recovered, placed out with different families to nurse, till the period of their education commences. They are next selected according to their natural talent for the several employments, liberal or mechanical, to which they seem most inclined, and are brought up accordingly under excellent preceptors. Some are sent to the manufactories, others to the military schools, others kept at home and instructed in the arts or the belles lettres.

mittee into twelve districts, over each of which a lady presided in order to give aid to those who might be found within those limits.

The greater part of these institutions owe their flourishing condition to the fostering patronage of the empress dowager, to whom we had the honour of being presented in the course of the month, and who, with the Grand Duchess Anne, and the Duke and Duchess of Wirtemburg, formed the only part of the imperial court now resident at Petersburg. Her majesty paid us many compliments on the politics of our country, in favour of which all the world seemed now so much inclined: if at any other moment she has acted on different principles, it was probably through circumstances connected with the conjugal reverence with which she follows the memory of the Emperor Paul, and no one can do otherwise than respect her feelings on this head.

END OF VOL. I.

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